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DIARY OF MR PEPYS

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Further volumes will be announced later



Samuel Pepys Esq^r. *Secretary to the Admiralty.*
From an Original by Sir Godfrey Kneller

1612 Lett^r most Obed^t Serv^t
Chas. Houli 27 April
1670 *EP*

THE DIARY OF MR PEPYS

Abridged and Edited by
H. A. TREBLE M.A. ♣ ♣



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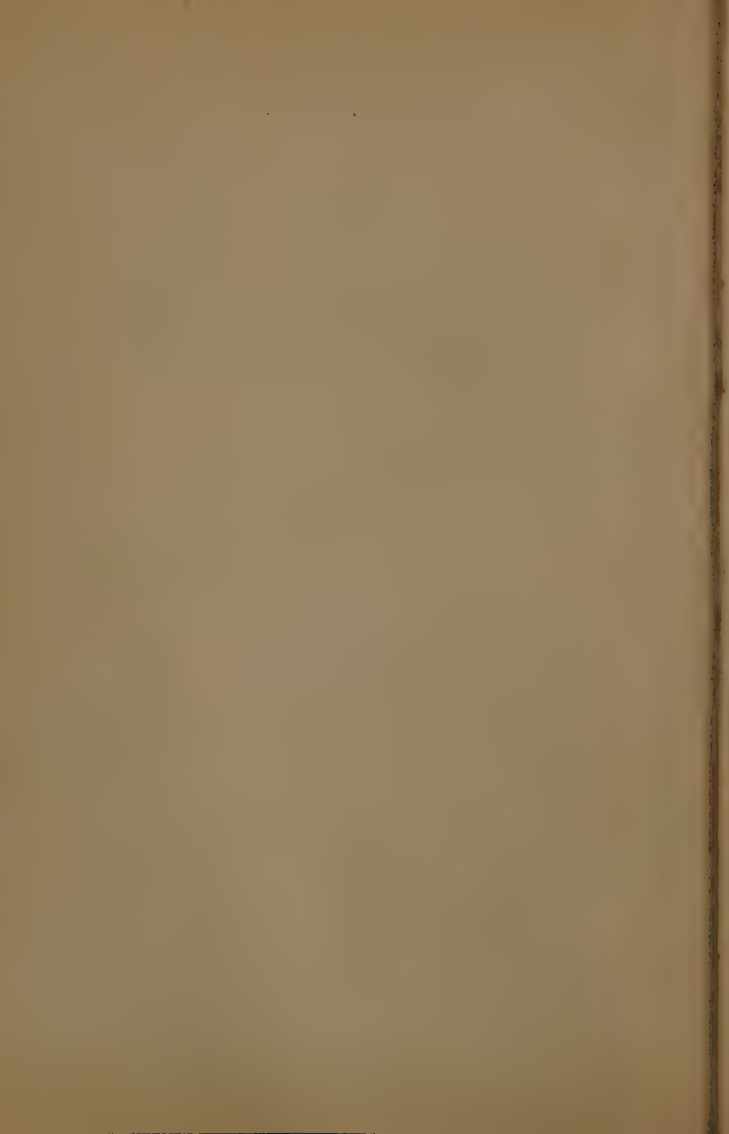
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H. A. T.



INTRODUCTION

SAMUEL PEPYS lived in momentous times. The stirring days of the Civil War were forgotten, or their memory was repressed, and petty intrigue and corruption seem to have reigned alike in the Court and in the council chamber. Charles II, who had been for eleven years a king in name only, had been hailed to his rightful throne with almost universal acclamation, and, indeed, had begun his reign auspiciously enough. But it was soon to be seen that he was unable to fulfil most of his lavish promises. At the time of which Pepys writes matters were at a strange pass indeed: debauchery and corruption filled the Court, while the Plague scourged the people. The King accepted bribes from France, while starving seamen clamoured for their pay, some of it fifty-two months in arrears, and Samuel Pepys, soon to be appointed Clerk of the Acts of the Navy Office, found it desirable to learn his multiplication table. Such was the England that the diarist enables us to visualize.

The Diary itself fills six small volumes of closely written shorthand. Parts that Pepys considered to call for special secrecy or delicacy he wrote in French, sometimes even in Latin, Greek, or Spanish, interlining and codifying to make comprehension still more difficult. It was handed over to the library of Magdalene College, Cambridge (Pepys' own College), in 1724, where it remained undisturbed for nearly a century. Then it was deciphered and transcribed by the Rev. John Smith—a labour of more than five years—and published by Lord Braybrooke in 1825. Covering the period January 1, 1660, to May 31, 1669, it shows us history from the inside as few books do. We see the times, not as they appear in a history book, as a well-laid plan of which we take a bird's-eye view, but as a number of scenes in which we ourselves are actors. We cannot see the whole, nor do we know the plot: even the scenes themselves are revealed to us only by transient flashes. Grand figures—Charles, Buckingham, Clarendon,

Monmouth, Montagu, Earl of Sandwich—appear for a moment on the stage, to be followed by a trifling but entrancingly interesting account of Pepys' household expenses or of his wife's new dress. There can hardly be a better way of grasping the reality of the times than this—by reliving them, as it were. So it is that the rapid and involved history of our own days appears so real and yet so obscure to us, because we are actually integral parts of it.

First of the diarist himself. Pepys was born in 1632 and graduated at Cambridge. He married the fifteen-year-old daughter of a Huguenot refugee in 1655, and the following year entered the family of Sir Edward Montagu, his father's influential cousin. Montagu liked him and secured several Government posts for him, finally that of Clerk of the Acts of the Navy Office early in 1660. For his life during the succeeding nine years his diary will speak. When on account of his failing sight he was compelled to relinquish his post, he had become the most important of the naval officials. His industry and integrity had found favour with Parliament, and his eloquence had secured the acquittal of the Navy Board at the bar of the House after the failure of the Dutch War. Later, in 1680, he was accused of supplying secret information to the French and of endeavouring to overthrow the Protestant religion; but three years later he was reappointed Secretary to the Admiralty by Charles himself, a post which he retained under James II, and of which he was deprived only by the Revolution. His remaining years he passed in retirement until his death in 1703.

The *Diary* is as typically a product of the age as its writer. Valuable as it is as an historical document, most of its charm for the present-day reader lies in its naïve confessions and inimitable detailing of its author's domestic affairs. Pepys is childishly elated at his wife's new dress, and the next instant depressed at the thought of its cost. He describes in great detail his little dissipations, and never fails to be visited with repentance (and a headache) the following morning. Pepys is always greatly little. He moves with conscious content amid kings and nobles, yet admits us into the inner sanctum of his home life. From gossip of business and State he turns to the record of his supper: "eat a musk melon, the first I have tasted this year." One day he sees Harrison hanged, drawn, and quartered, and comments on the irony that led him to witness the execution both of the King at White Hall and of one of his "murderers" at Charing Cross; but he ends it all with the laconic

commonplace : " Setting up shelves in my study." The great contrasting elements in his character glint through the pages of his diary—now formal piety against its background of rollicking enjoyment ; now a real touch of almost tender charitableness against selfish and callous indifference. We see him, from beginning to end, in his characteristic attitude : gazing round the church in search of a pretty woman, while he " hears one preach like a fool," or " the Scotchman preaching," falling to sleep or (God forgive him !) " composing ayrs " and not going to church at all ; or reckoning up his wealth : " I did find myself really worth £1900, for which the great God of Heaven and Earth be praised ! " ; or, in spite of good resolutions, going to bed " nearly fuddled " ; or whipping his boy with rods, though " I fear they did not much hurt to him, but only to my arm, which I am already, within a quarter of an houre, not able to stir almost " ; or " to the Duke's house, and there seeing *Twelfth Night* acted well, though it be but a silly play, and not relating at all to the name or day." Here was a man, superbly vain, accidentally humorous, whimsically pathetic, who enjoyed life from top to bottom. He struts about here, there, and everywhere, " mightily pleased " : if he is angry some one (generally poor Mrs Pepys) suffers for it ; but his anger is a quick, sudden blaze that flickers out in another contented " so to bed." A new suit " and my velvet cloak," the novel practice of " trimming myself with a razer," a blackbird " that did whistle," a new door in the office " wherein I please myself much "—these represent the catalogue of his little, queer, ecstatic loves. He takes us with him everywhere—to the play, to church, to the office, by water to Chatham and Sheerness, to the King's Court and to the mean plague-stricken city ; and the joy of it is to end up with him, after some " great sport " on a wet, muddy day, and watch him steal off to bed, having " given my breeches to be dried by the fire against to-morrow."

Lord Macaulay remarks that comparison with Boswell is irresistible ; but comparison is scarcely fair to Pepys. Boswell wrote to be read by all and would have been deeply chagrined if he had not been read. It is a matter of opinion whether it is selfless devotion to his master or merely sublime conceit that makes him forget the sorry figure he himself sometimes cuts. Pepys, on the other hand, wrote for his private satisfaction only, and was at great pains to prevent anyone from reading his self-confessions and criticisms

of others. It is difficult to conceive what would have been the feelings of the worthy Secretary to the Admiralty could he have realized that the world two hundred years after his death would neglect his serious work as reorganizer of the Navy, and would find peculiar pleasure in the tittle-tattle and petty details of his immortal diary that he was at such pains to keep secret.

THE DIARY OF MR PEPYS

1659-60

BLESSED be God, at the end of the last year, I was in very good health, without any sense of my old pain, but upon taking of cold. I lived in Axe Yard, having my wife, and servant Jane, and no other in family than us three.

Jan. 1st. (Lord's day.) This morning, (we living lately in the garret) I rose, put on my suit with great skirts, having not lately worn any other clothes but them. Went to Mr Gunning's chapel at Exeter House, where he made a very good sermon upon these words: "That in the fulness of time God sent his Son, made of a woman," &c.; showing, that by "made under the law" is meant the circumcision, which is solemnized this day. Dined at home in the garret, where my wife dressed the remains of a turkey, and in the doing of it she burned her hand. I staid at home the whole afternoon, looking over my accounts; then went with my wife to my father's, and in going observed the great posts which the City workmen set up at the Conduit in Fleet Street.

2d. From the Hall I called at home, and so went to Mr Crewe's; (my wife she was to go to her father's) and Mr Moore and I and another gentleman went out and drank a cup of ale together in the new market, and there I eat some bread and cheese for my dinner.

3d. To White Hall, where I understood that the Parliament had passed the act of indemnity for the soldiers and officers that would come in, in so many days, and that my Lord Lambert should have benefit of the said act. They had also voted that all vacancies in the House, by the death of any of the old members, should be filled up; but those that are living shall not be called in.

5th. I dined with Mr Shepley, at my Lord's lodgings, upon his turkey-pie. And so to my office again; where the Excise money was brought, and some of it told to soldiers till it was dark. Then I went home, after writing to my Lord the news that the Parliament had this night voted that the members that were discharged from sitting in the years 1648 and 49 were duly

discharged; and that there should be writs issued presently for the calling of others in their places, and that Monk and Fairfax were commanded up to town, and that the President Bradshaw's lodgings were to be provided for Monk at Whitehall. Then my wife and I, it being a great frost, went to Mrs Jem's, in expectation to eat a sack-posset, but Mr Edward not coming, it was put off; and I left my wife playing at cards with her, and went myself to Mr Fage, to consult concerning my nose, who told me it was nothing but cold. Mr Fage and I did discourse concerning public business; and he told me it is true the City had not time enough to do much, but they are resolved to shake off the soldiers; and that, unless there be a free Parliament chosen, he did believe there are half the Common Council will not levy any money by order of this Parliament.

6th. This morning Mr Shepley and I did eat our breakfast at Mrs Harper's, (my brother John being with me), upon a cold turkey-pie and a goose. At my office, where we paid money to the soldiers till one o'clock; and I took my wife to my cosen, Thomas Pepys, and found them just sat down to dinner, which was very good; only the venison pasty was palpable mutton, which was not handsome.

7th. At my office receiving money of the probate of wills.

8th. (Lord's day.) In the morning went to Mr Gunning's, where a good sermon, wherein he showed the life of Christ, and told as good authority for us to believe that Christ did follow his father's trade, and was a carpenter till thirty years of age.

18th. I interpreted my Lord's letter by his character. All the world is at a loss to think what Monk will do: the City saying that he will be for them, and the Parliament saying he will be for them.

19th. This morning I was sent for to Mr Downing, and at his bedside he told me, that he had a kindness for me, and that he thought that he had done me one; and that was, that he had got me to be one of the Clerks of the Council; at which I was a little stumbled, and could not tell what to do, whether to thank him or no, but by and by I did; but not very heartily, for I feared that his doing of it was only to ease himself of the salary which he gives me.

25th. Coming home, heard that in Cheapside there had been but a little before a gibbet set up, and the picture of Huson hung upon it in the middle of the street. I called at Paul's Churchyard,

where I bought Buxtorf's *Hebrew Grammar*; and read [at Kirton's] a declaration of the gentlemen of Northampton which came out this afternoon. To Mr Crewe's about a picture to be sent into the country, of Mr Thomas Crewe, to my Lord.

26th. Called for some papers at Whitehall for Mr Downing, one of which was an Order of the Council for £1800 per annum, to be paid monthly; and the other two, Orders to the Commissioners of Customs, to let his goods pass free. Home from my office to my Lord's lodgings, where my wife had got ready a very fine dinner—viz., a dish of marrow-bones; a leg of mutton; a loin of veal; a dish of fowl, three pullets, and a dozen of larks all in a dish; a great tart, a neat's tongue, a dish of anchovies; a dish of prawns and cheese. My company was my father, my uncle Fenner, his two sons, Mr Pierce, and all their wives, and my brother Tom. The news this day is a letter that speaks absolutely Monk's concurrence with this Parliament, and nothing else, which yet I hardly believe. I wrote two characters for Mr Downing, and carried them to him.

29th. (Lord's day.) Casting up my accounts, I do find myself to be worth £40 and more, which I did not think, but am afraid that I have forgot something.

30th. This morning, before I was up, I fell a-singing of my song, "Great, good, and just," &c., and put myself thereby in mind that this was the fatal day, now ten years since, his Majesty died. There seems now to be a general cease of talk, it being taken for granted that Monk do resolve to stand to the Parliament, and nothing else. I took my £12 10s. due to me for my last quarter's salary.

February 1st. Took Gammer East, and James the porter, a soldier, to my Lord's lodgings, who told me how they were drawn into the field to-day, and that they were ordered to march away to-morrow, to make room for General Monk; but they did shout their Colonel Fitch and the rest of the officers out of the field, and swore they would not go without their money, and if they would not give it them, they would go where they might have it, and that was the City. So the Colonel went to the Parliament, and commanded what money could be got, to be got against to-morrow for them, and all the rest of the soldiers in town, who in all places made a mutiny this day, and do agree together.

3d. Drank my morning draft at Harper's and was told there that the soldiers were all quiet upon promise of pay. Thence to

St James's Park, back to Whitehall, where in a guard-chamber I saw about thirty or forty 'prentices of the City, who were taken at twelve o'clock last night, and brought prisoners hither. Thence to my office, where I paid a little more money to some of the soldiers under Lieut.-Col. Miller (who held out the Tower against the Parliament, after it was taken away from Fitch by the Committee of Safety, and yet he continued in his office). About noon, Mrs Turner came to speak with me and Joyce, and I took them and showed them the manner of the Houses sitting, the doorkeeper very civilly opening the door for us. We went walking all over White Hall, whither General Monk was newly come, and we saw all his forces march by in very good plight, and stout officers. After dinner, I went to hear news, but only found that the Parliament House was most of them with Monk at White Hall, and that in passing through the town he had many calls to him for a free Parliament, but little other welcome. I saw in the Palace Yard how unwilling some of the old soldiers were yet to go out of town without their money, and swore if they had it not in three days, as they were promised, they would do them more mischief in the country than if they had staid here; and that is very likely, the country being all discontented. The town and guards are already full of Monk's soldiers. It growing dark, to take a turn in the Park, where Theoph. (she was sent for to us to dinner) outran my wife and another poor woman, that laid a pot of ale with me that she would outrun her.

4th. All the news to-day is, that the Parliament this morning voted the House to be made up four hundred forthwith. Discourse at an alehouse about Marriott, the great eater, so I was ashamed to eat what I could have done. I met Spicer in Lincoln's Inn Court, buying of a hanging-jack to roast birds upon. My wife killed her turkeys that came out of Zealand with my Lord, and could not get her maid Jane to kill any thing at any time.

6th. To Westminster, where we found the soldiers all set in the Palace Yard, to make way for General Monk to come to the House. I stood upon the steps, and saw Monk go by, he making observance to the judges as he went along.

7th. Went to Paul's School, where he that made the speech for the seventh form in praise of the Founder did show a book which Mr Crumlum had lately got, which he believed to be of the Founder's own writing. My brother John came off as well as any

of the rest in the speeches. To the Hall, where in the Palace I saw Monk's soldiers abuse Billing and all the Quakers, that were at a meeting-place there, and indeed the soldiers did use them very roughly, and were to blame. This day, Mr Crewe told me that my Lord St John is for a free Parliament, and that he is very great with Monk, who hath now the absolute command and power to do any thing that he hath a mind to do.

9th. Before I was out of my bed, I heard the soldiers very busy in the morning, getting their horses ready when they lay at Hilton's, but I knew not then their meaning in so doing. In the Hall I understand how Monk is this morning gone into London with his army; and Mr Fage told me that he do believe that Monk is gone to secure some of the Common-council of the City, who were very high yesterday there, and did vote that they would not pay any taxes till the House was filled up. I went to my office, where I wrote to my Lord after I had been at the Upper Bench, where Sir Robert Pye this morning came to desire his discharge from the Tower; but it could not be granted. I called at Mr Harper's, who told me how Monk had this day clapt up many of the Common-council, and that the Parliament had voted that he should pull down their gates and portcullisses, their posts and their chains, which he do intend to do, and do lie in the City all night.

To Westminster Hall, where I heard an action very finely pleaded between my Lord Dorset and some other noble persons, his lady and other ladies of quality being there, and it was about £330 per annum that was to be paid to a poor Spittal, which was given by some of his predecessors; and given on his side.

10th. Mr Fage told me what Monk had done in the City, how he had pulled down the most part of the gates and chains that they could break down, and that he was now gone back to White Hall. The City look mighty blank, and cannot tell what in the world to do; the Parliament having this day ordered that the Common-council sit no more, but that new ones be chosen, according to what qualifications they shall give them.

11th. In Cheapside there was a great many bonfires, and Bow bells and all the bells in all the churches as we went home were a-ringing. Hence we went homewards, it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was everywhere to be seen! The number of bonfires, there being fourteen between St Dunstan's and Temple Bar, and at Strand Bridge I could at one time tell thirty-one

fires. In King Street seven or eight; and all along, burning, and roasting, and drinking for rumps. There being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down. The butchers at the May Pole in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate Hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied upon it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the further side.

12th. (Lord's day.) In the morning, it being Lord's day, to White Hall, where Dr Holmes preached; but I staid not to hear, but walking in the court, I heard that Sir Arthur Haselrigge was newly gone into the City to Monk, and that Monk's wife removed from White Hall last night. After dinner, I heard that Monk had been at Paul's in the morning, and the people had shouted much at his coming out of the church. In the afternoon he was at a church in Broad Street, whereabout he do lodge. Walking with Mr Kirton's apprentice during evening church, and looking for a tavern to drink at, but not finding any open, we durst not knock. To my father's, where Charles Glascocke was overjoyed to see how things are now; who told me the boys had last night broke Bare-bones' windows.

13th. This day Monk was invited to White Hall to dinner by my Lords; not seeming willing, he would not come. I went to Mr Fage from my father's, who had been this afternoon with Monk, who did promise to live and die with the City, and for the honour of the City; and indeed the City is very open-handed to the soldiers, that they are most of them drunk all day, and had money given them.

14th. My wife, hearing Mr Moore's voice in my dressing chamber, got herself ready, and came down and challenged him for her Valentine.

15th. No news to-day, but all quiet to see what the Parliament will do about the issuing of the writs to-morrow for the filling up of the House, according to Monk's desire.

17th. To Westminster Hall, where I heard that some of the members of the House were gone to meet some of the secluded members and General Monk in the City. Hence to White Hall, thinking to hear more news, where I met with Mr Hunt, who told

me how Monk had sent for all his goods that he had here, into the City ; and yet again he told me, that some of the members of the House had this day laid in firing into their lodgings at White Hall for a good while, so that we are at a great stand to think what will become of things, whether Monk will stand to the Parliament or no. Drank with Mr Wotton, who told a great many stories of comedies that he had formerly seen acted, and the names of the principal actors, and gave me a very good account of it.

18th. This day two soldiers were hanged in the Strand for their late mutiny at Somerset House.

23d. Thursday, my birthday, now twenty-seven years. To Westminster Hall, where, after the House rose, I met with Mr Crewe, who told me that my Lord was chosen by 73 voices to be one of the Council of State. Mr Pierpoint had the most, 101, and himself the next, 100.

25th. My father, brother, and I to Mr Widdrington, at Christ's College, who received us very civilly, and caused my brother to be admitted.

27th. Up by four o'clock : Mr Blayton and I took horse and straight to Saffron Walden, where, at the White Hart, we set up our horses, and took the master of the house to show us Audley End House, who took us on foot through the park, and so to the house, where the housekeeper showed us all the house, in which the stateliness of the ceilings, chimney-pieces, and form of the whole was exceedingly worth seeing. He took us into the cellar, where we drank most admirable drink, a health to the King. Here I played on my flageolette, there being an excellent echo. He showed us excellent pictures ; two especially, those of the four Evangelists and Henry VIII. In our going, my landlord carried us through a very old hospital or almshouse, where forty poor people were maintained ; a very old foundation ; and over the chimney-piece was an inscription in brass : *Orate pro animâ Thomæ Bird, &c.* They brought me a draft of their drink in a brown bowl, tipt with silver, which I drank off, and at the bottom was a picture of the Virgin with the Child in her arms, done in silver. So we took leave, the road pretty good, but the weather rainy to Epping.

28th. Up in the morning, and had some red herrings to our breakfast, while my boot-heel was a-mending, by the same token the boy left the hole as big as it was before. Then to horse for London, through the forest, where we found the way good, but

only in one path, which we kept as if we had rode through a kennel all the way.

March 5th. To Westminster by water, only seeing Mr Pinkny at his own house, where he showed me how he had always kept the Lion and Unicorn, in the back of his chimney, bright, in expectation of the King's coming again. At home I found Mr Hunt, who told me how the Parliament had voted that the Covenant be printed and hung in churches again. Great hopes of the King's coming again.

6th. Shrove Tuesday. I called Mr Shepley, and we both went up to my Lord's lodgings at Mr Crewe's, where he bids us to go home again, and get a fire against an hour after; which we did, at White Hall, whither he came, and after talking with him about our going to sea, he called me by myself into the garden, where he asked me how things were with me. My uncle Tom inquires about the Knights of Windsor, of which he desires to be one. To see Mrs Jem, at whose chamber door I found a couple of ladies, but she not being there, we hunted her out, and found that she and another had hid themselves behind a door. Well, they all went down into the dining-room, where it was full of tag, rag, and bobtail, dancing, singing, and drinking, of which I was ashamed, and after I had staid a dance or two, I went away.

13th. At my Lord's lodgings, who told me that I was to be secretary, and Crewe deputy treasurer to the Fleet, at which I was troubled, but I could not help it. This day the Parliament voted all that had been done by the former Rump against the House of Lords be void, and to-night that the writs go out without any qualification. Things seem very doubtful what will be the end of all; for the Parliament seems to be strong for the King, while the soldiers do all talk against.

July 1st. (Lord's day.) Infinite of business, my heart and head full. Met with Purser Washington, with whom and a lady, a friend of his, I dined at the Bell Tavern in King Street, but the rogue had no more manners than to invite me, and to let me pay my club. This morning come home my fine camlet cloak, with gold buttons, and a silk suit, which cost me much money, and I pray God to make me able to pay for it. In the afternoon to the Abbey, where a good sermon by a stranger, but no Common Prayer yet.

5th. This morning, my brother Tom brought me my jacka-

napes coat with silver buttons. It rained this morning, which makes us fear that the glory of this day will be lost; the King and Parliament being to be entertained by the City to-day with great pomp. Mr Hater was with me to-day, and I agreed with him to be my clerke. Being at White Hall, I saw the King, the Dukes, and all their attendants go forth in the rain to the City, and it spoiled many a fine suit of clothes. I was forced to walk all the morning in White Hall, not knowing how to get out because of the rain. Met with Mr Cooling, my Lord Chamberlain's secretary, who took me to dinner among the gentleman waiters, and after dinner into the wine-cellar. He told me how he had a project for all us Secretaries to join together, and get money by bringing all business into our hands. Thence to the Admiralty, where Mr Blackburne and I (it beginning to hold up) went and walked an hour or two in the Park, he giving of me light in many things in my way in this office that I go about. And in the evening I got my presents of plate carried to Mr Coventry's. At my Lord's at night comes Dr Petty to me, to tell me that Barlow was come to town, and other things, which put me into a despair, and I went to bed very sad.

10th. This day I put on my new silk suit, the first that ever I wore in my life. Home, and called my wife, and took her to Clodins's to a great wedding of Nan Hartlib to Mynheer Roder, which was kept at Goring House with very great state, cost, and noble company. But among all the beauties there, my wife was thought the greatest. And finding my Lord in White Hall garden, I got him to go to the Secretary's, which he did, and desired the despatch of his and my bills to be signed by the King. His bill is to be Earl of Sandwich, Viscount Hinchinbroke, and Baron of St Neot's. Home, with my mind pretty quiet: not returning, as I said I would, to see the bride put to bed.

14th. Comes in Mr Pagan Fisher, the poet, and promises me what he had long ago done, a book in praise of the King of France, with my arms, and a dedication to me, very handsome. Took Mr Butler (Monsieur L'Impertinent) to see my house, and did give him a glass of wine at Rawlinson's, and was trimmed in the street.

15th. (Lord's day.) My wife and I mightily pleased with our new house that we hope to have. My patent has cost me a great deal of money; about £40. In the afternoon to Henry the Seventh's Chapel, where I heard service and a sermon. Dined

with my Lord, whom I find plainly to be a sceptic in all things of religion, but to be a perfect stoic.

22d. (Lord's day.) After dinner to White Hall, where I find my Lord at home, and walked in the garden with him, he showing me all respect. I left him, and went to walk in the inward Park, but could not get in; one man was basted by the keeper, for carrying some people over on his back through the water. Home, and at night had a chapter read; and I read prayers out of the Common Prayer Book, the first time that ever I read prayers in this house. So to bed.

[August] 3d. By coach with my wife to Dr Clerke's to dinner. I was very much taken with his lady, a comely, proper woman, though not handsome, but a woman of the best language I ever heard.

4th. To White Hall, where I found my Lord gone with the King by water to dine at the Tower with J. Robinson, Lieutenant. I found my Lady Jemimah at my Lord's, with whom I staid and dined, all alone; after dinner at the Privy Seal Office, signing things and taking money all day. I could not go to the Red Bull playhouse as I had intended. So to a committee of Parliament, (Sir Heneage Finch, chairman) to give them an answer to an order of theirs, "that we could not give them any account of the Accounts of the Navy in the years 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, as they desire."

5th. (Lord's day.) After dinner to St Margaret's; the first time I ever heard Common Prayer in that church. At Westminster stairs a fray between Mynheer Clinker and a waterman made good sport.

6th. This night Mr Man offered me £1000 for my office of Clerk of the Acts, which made my mouth water; but yet I dare not take it till I speak with my Lord to have his consent.

12th. (Lord's day.) To my Lord, and with him to White Hall Chapel, where Mr Calamy preached, and made a good sermon upon these words, "To whom much is given, of him much is required." He was very officious with his three reverences to the King, as others do. After sermon a brave anthem of Captain Cooke's, which he himself sung, and the King was well pleased with it. My Lord dined at my Lord Chamberlain's.

14th. I did make even with Mr Fairebrother for my degree of Master of Arts, which cost me about £9 16s. At night good sport, having the girl and boy to comb my head.

15th. To the office, and after dinner by water to White Hall, where I found the King gone this morning by five of the clock to see a Dutch pleasure-boat below bridge, where he dines, and my Lord with him. The King do tire all his people that are about him with early rising since he come.

16th. My Lord took leave, and so for Hinchinbroke. My Lady Jemimah and Mr Thomas Crewe in the coach with him.

17th. At the Half Moon I saw Mr Creed show the strangest emotions to shift off his drink I ever saw.

18th. Towards Westminster by water. I landed my wife at Whitefriars, with £5 to buy her a petticoat, and my father persuaded her to buy a most fine cloth, of 26s. a yard, and a rich lace, that the petticoat will come to £5; but she doing it very innocently, I could not be angry. Captain Ferrers took me and Creed to the Cockpit play, the first I have had time to see since my coming from sea, *The Loyall Subject*, where one Kinaston, a boy, acted the Duke's sister [Olympia], but made the loveliest lady that ever I saw in my life. After the play done, we went to drink, and, by Captain Ferrers' means, Kinaston, and another that acted Archas the General, came and drank with us.

19th. (Lord's day.) This morning Sir William Batten, Pen, and myself, went to church to the churchwardens, to demand a pew, which at present could not be given us; but we are resolved to have one built. So we staid, and heard Mr Mills, a very good minister. Home to dinner, where my wife had on her new petticoat that she bought yesterday, which indeed is a very fine cloth and a fine lace; but that being of a light colour, and the lace all silver, it makes no great shew.

23d. By water to Doctors' Commons, to Dr Walker, to give him my Lord's papers to view over, concerning his being empowered to be Vice-Admiral under the Duke of York. With Sir W. B. and Sir W. P. to dinner at a tavern in Thames Street, where they were invited to a roasted haunch of venison and other very good victuals and company. Thence by water to White Hall, to the Parliament House, where I spoke with Colonel Birch, and so to the Admiralty chamber, where we and Mr Coventry had a meeting about several businesses. Eat a musk melon, the first I have tasted this year.

25th. This night W. Hewer brought me home from Mr Pim's my velvet coat and cap, the first that ever I had.

26th. (Lord's day.) To the parish church, where we are placed in the highest pew of all. A stranger preached a tedious long sermon. To church again in the afternoon with my wife; in the garden and on the leads at night.

27th. Come a vessel of Northdown ale from Mr Pierce, the purser, to me, and a brave Turkey-carpet and a jar of olives from Captain Cuttance, and a pair of fine turtle-doves from John Burr to my wife. Major Hart come to me, whom I did receive with wine and anchovies, which made me so dry, that I was ill with them all night, and was fain to have the girl rise and fetch me some drink.

[September] 2d. Sunday to St Margaret's; heard a good sermon upon "Teach us the right way," or something like it, wherein he [the preacher] ran over all the new tenets in policy and religion, that had brought us into all our late divisions.

3d. Up, and to Mr —, the goldsmith, where I bought my wedding-ring, and there, with much ado, got him to put a gold ring to the jewel which the King of Sweden did give my Lord: out of which my Lord had now taken the King's picture, and intends to make a George of it. About noon, my Lord, having taken leave of the King in the Shield Gallery, (where I saw with what kindness the King did hug my Lord at his parting) I went over with him and saw him in his coach at Lambeth, and there took leave of him, he going to the Downs. I am to get my Lord a toilet-cap, and comb-case of silk, to make use of in Holland, for he goes to the Hague.

4th. Looking over the joiners, flooring my dining-room.

11th. Landing at the Bear, at the Bridge foot, we saw Southwark fair, I having not at all seen Bartholomew fair. I caused the girl to wash the wainscot of our parlour, which she did very well, which caused my wife and I good sport.

12th. Looking after my workmen, whose laziness do much trouble me.

13th. My wife went to the burial of a child of my cousin Scott's. This day the Duke of Gloucester died of the smallpox, by the great negligence of the doctors.

14th. My mother very ill, at which my heart is very sick.

15th. To Westminster, where I met with Dr Castles, who chid me for some error in our Privy Seal business; among the rest, for letting the fees of the six judges pass unpaid, which I know not

what to say to, till I speak to Mr Moore. I was much troubled, for fear of being forced to pay the money myself. Called at my father's going home, and bespoke mourning for myself, for the death of the Duke of Gloucester.

16th. (Lord's day.) To the Park, where I saw how far they had proceeded in the Pell-mell, and in making a river through the Park, which I had never seen before since it was begun. Thence to White Hall Garden, where I saw the King in purple mourning for his brother. A gentleman in the Poultry had a great and dirty fall over a water-pipe that lay along the channel.

17th. I did give my wife £15 to go to buy mourning things for her, which she did.

18th. This day I heard that the Duke of York, upon the news of the death of his brother yesterday, came hither by post last night. To the Mitre Tavern, in Wood Street, (a house of the greatest note in London) where I met W. Symons and D. Scobell, and their wives, Mr Samford, Luellin, Chetwind, one Mr Vivion, and Mr White, formerly chaplain to the Lady Protectress (and still so, and one they say that is likely to get my Lady Frances for his wife). Here some of us fell to handicap, a sport that I never knew before, which was very good.

21st. Upon the water saw the corpse of the Duke of Gloucester brought down Somerset House stairs, to go by water to Westminster, to be buried to-night.

22d. I bought a pair of short black stockings, to wear over a pair of silk ones for mourning; and I met with The. Turner and Joyce, buying of things to go into mourning, too, for the Duke, which is now the mode of all the ladies in town. This day, Mr Edward Pickering is come from my Lord, and says that he left him well in Holland, and that he will be here within three or four days.

24th. I arose from table, and went to the Temple Church, where I had appointed Sir W. Batten to meet him; and there at Sir Heneage Finch Solicitor-General's chambers, before him and Sir W. Wilde, Recorder of London (whom we sent for from his chamber), we were sworn justices of peace for Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Southampton; with which honour I did find myself mightily pleased, although I am wholly ignorant in the duties of a justice of peace. I went to Monsieur L'Impertinent [Mr Butler] to a dancing meeting in Broad Street, at the house

that was formerly the glass-house, Luke Channell master of the school, where I saw good dancing.

25th. I did send for a cup of tee, (a China drink) of which I never had drank before, and went away (the King and the Princess coming up the river this afternoon as we were at our pay). My Lord told me how the ship that brought the Princess and him (the *Tredagh*) did knock six times upon the Kentish Knock, which put them in great fear for the ship; but got off well. He told me also how the King had knighted Vice-admiral Lawson and Sir Richard Stayner.

26th. To the church, to consult about our gallery.

28th. All the afternoon among my workmen, and did give them drink, and very merry with them, it being my luck to meet with a sort of drolling workmen on all occasions.

29th. This day, or yesterday, I hear, Prince Rupert is come to court; but welcome to nobody.

October 1st. Mr Mansell, a poor Reformado of the Charles's, came to see me.

2d. At Will's I met with Mr Spicer, and with him to the Abbey to see them at vespers. There I found but a thin congregation.

3d. To my Lord's, who sent a great iron chest to White Hall; and I saw it carried into the King's closet, where I saw most incomparable pictures. Among the rest a book open upon a desk, which I durst have sworn was a real book. Back again to my Lord, and dined all alone with him, who did treat me with a great deal of respect; and after dinner did discourse an hour with me, and advise about some way to get himself some money to make up for his great expenses, saying that he believed that he might have any thing that he would ask of the King. This day I heard the Duke speak of a great design that he and my Lord of Pembroke have, and a great many others, of sending a venture to some parts of Africa to dig for gold ore there. They intend to admit as many as will venture their money, and so make themselves a company. £250 is the lowest share for every man. But I do not find that my Lord do much like it.

4th. I and Lieutenant Lambert to Westminster Abbey, where we saw Dr Frewen translated to the Archbishoprick of York. Here I saw the Bishops of Winchester, Bangor, Rochester, Bath and Wells, and Salisbury, all in their habits, in King Henry Seventh's chapel. But, Lord! at their going out, how people did

most of them look upon them as strange creatures, and few with any kind of love or respect.

5th. Office day ; dined at home to see my painters now at work upon my house.

6th. Colonel Slingsby and I at the office, getting a catch ready for the Prince de Ligne to carry his things away to-day, who is now going home again. I was to give my Lord an account of the stations and victuals of the fleet, in order to the choosing of a fleet fit for him to take to sea, to bring over the Queen.

7th. (Lord's day.) To White Hall on foot, calling at my father's to change my long black cloak for a short one (long cloaks being now quite out) ; but he being gone to church, I could not get one. I heard Dr Spurstow preach before the King a poor dry sermon ; but a very good anthem of Captain Cooke's afterwards. To my Lord's, and dined with him ; he all dinner-time talking French to me. After dinner to the Abbey, where I heard them read the church service, but very ridiculously. A poor cold sermon of Dr Lamb's, one of the prebendaries, in his habit, come afterwards, and so all ended.

8th. At my father's about gilded leather for my dining-room.

9th. This morning Sir W. Batten with Colonel Birch to Deptford to pay off two ships. Our gentlemen and Mr Prin [Prynne] dined together. I found Mr Prin a good, honest, plain man, but in his discourse not very free or pleasant. Among all the tales that passed among us to-day, he told us of one Damford, that, being a black man, did scald his beard with mince-pie, and it came up again all white in that place, and continued to his dying day.

11th. To walk in St James's Park, where we observed the several engines at work to draw up water, with which sight I was very much pleased. Above all the rest, I liked that which Mr Creatorex brought, which do carry up the water with a great deal of ease. Here, in the Park, we met with Mr Salisbury, who took Mr Creed and me to the Cockpit to see *The Moor of Venice*, which was well done. Burt acted the Moor ; by the same token, a very pretty lady that sat by me called out, to see Desdemona smothered. With Mr Creed to Hercules Pillars, where we drank.

12th. My Lady Sandwich come to town, and showed me most extraordinary love and kindness.

13th. I went out to Charing Cross, to see Major-General Harrison hanged, drawn, and quartered ; which was done there,

he looking as cheerful as any man could do in that condition. He was presently cut down, and his head and heart shown to the people, at which there was great shouts of joy. It is said, that he said that he was sure to come shortly at the right hand of Christ to judge them that now had judged him; and that his wife do expect his coming again. Thus it was my chance to see the King beheaded at White Hall, and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the King at Charing Cross. Setting up shelves in my study.

14th. (Lord's day.) To White Hall chapel, where one Dr Crofts made an indifferent sermon, and after it an anthem, ill-sung, which made the King laugh. Here I first did see the Princess Royal since she came into England.

15th. This morning Mr Carew was hanged and quartered at Charing Cross, but his quarters, by a great favour, are not to be hanged up.

18th. This morning, it being expected that Colonel Hacker and Axtell should die, I went to Newgate, but found they were reprieved till to-morrow. The Turner sent for a pair of doves that my wife had promised her; and because she did not send them in the best cage, she sent them back again with a scornful letter, with which I was angry, but yet pretty well pleased that she was crossed.

19th. This morning my dining-room was finished with green serge hanging and gilt leather, which is very handsome. This morning Hacker and Axtell were hanged and quartered, as the rest are. This night I sat up late to make up my accounts ready against to-morrow for my Lord.

23d. One of Mr Shepley's pistols, charged with bullets, flew off, and it pleased God that the mouth of the gun being downwards, it did us no hurt; but I think I never was in more danger in my life. About eight o'clock my Lord went; and going through the garden, Mr William Montagu told him of an estate of land lately come into the King's hands, that he had a mind my Lord should beg. To which end my Lord writ a letter presently to my Lord Chancellor to do it for him, which (after leave taken of my Lord at White Hall bridge) I did carry to Warwick House to him; and had a fair promise of him, that he would do it this day for my Lord. In my way thither I met the Lord Chancellor and all the Judges riding on horseback and going to Westminster Hall, it being the

first day of the term. Carried my Lord's picture to Mr de Cretz to be copied.

27th. I went by chance to my new Lord Mayor's house, (Sir Richard Browne) by Goldsmith's Hall, which is now fitting, and indeed is a very pretty house. Coming back, I called at Paul's Churchyard, and bought Alstead's *Encyclopædia*, which cost me 38s.

29th. I up early, it being my Lord Mayor's day (Sir Richard Browne) and neglecting my office, I went to the Wardrobe, where I met my Lady Sandwich and all the children; and after drinking of some strange and incomparable good clarett of Mr Remball's, he and Mr Townsend did take us, and set the young Lords at one Mr Nevill's, a draper in Paul's church-yard; and my Lady, and my Lady Pickering and I to one Mr Isaacson's, a linen draper at the Key in Cheapside; where there was a company of fine ladies, and we were very civilly treated, and had a very good place to see the pageants, which were many, and I believe good for such kind of things, but in themselves but poor and absurd. The show being done, we got to Paul's with much ado, and I went on foot with my Lady Pickering to her lodging, which was a poor one in Blackfryars, where she never invited me to go in at all, which methought was very strange. Lady Davis is now come to our next lodgings, and has locked up the leads' door from me, which puts me in great disquiet.

[November] 2d. I went and saw some silver crosses put upon my Bible, which cost me 6s. 6d. the making, and 7s. 6d. the silver; the book comes in all to £1 3s. 6d. To White Hall, where I saw the boats coming very thick to Lambeth, and all the stairs to be full of people. I was told the Queen was a-coming; so I got a sculler for sixpence to carry me thither and back again, but I could not get to see the Queen; so come back, and to my Lord's, where he was come; and I supt with him, he being very merry, telling me stories of the country mayors, how they entertained the King all the way as he come along; and how the country gentlewomen did hold up their heads to be kissed by the King, not taking his hand to kiss, as they should do. I took leave of my Lord and Lady, and so took coach at White Hall, and carried Mr Childe as far as the Strand, and myself got as far as Ludgate by all the bonfires, but with a great deal of trouble; and there the coachman desired that I would release him, for he durst not go further for

the fires. In Paul's Church-yard I called at Kirton's, and there they had got a masse book for me, which I bought, and cost me twelve shillings; and, when I come home, sat up late and read in it with great pleasure to my wife, to hear that she was long ago acquainted with it. I observed this night very few bonfires in the City, not above three in all London, for the Queen's coming; whereby I guess that (as I believed before) her coming do please but very few.

3d. Saturday. In the afternoon to White Hall, where my Lord and Lady were gone to kiss the Queen's hand.

4th. (Lord's day.) My wife seemed very pretty to-day, it being the first time I had given her leave to weare a black patch.

5th. At the office at night, to make up an account of what the debts of nineteen of the twenty-five ships that should have been paid off, is increased since the adjournment of the Parliament, they being to sit again to-morrow. This 5th of November is observed exceeding well in the City; and at night great bonfires and fireworks.

6th. Mr Chetwind told me that he did fear that this late business of the Duke of York's would prove fatal to my Lord Chancellor. To our office, where we met all, for the sale of two ships by an inch of candle, (the first time that ever I saw any of this kind) where I observed how they do invite one another, and at last how they all do cry, and we have much to do to tell who did cry last. The ships were the *Indian*, sold for £1300, and the *Half-moone*, sold for £830. Fell a-reading of the tryalls of the late men that were hanged for the King's death, and found good satisfaction in reading thereof.

8th. On board the yacht, which indeed is one of the finest things that ever I saw, for neatness and room, in so small a vessel. Home at two in the morning. My wife up, who shewed me her head, which was very well dressed.

12th. To the Comptroller's house in Lime Street, a fine house, where I never was before. Agreed with Jack Spicer to help me to tell money this afternoon. My father and I discoursed seriously about my sister's coming to live with me, and yet I am much afraid of her ill-nature. I told her plainly my mind was to have her come not as a sister but as a servant, which she promised me that she would, and with many thanks did weep for joy.

13th. By water to the Wardrobe. A great deal of room in the

house, but very ugly, till my Lord had bestowed great cost upon it. Found my wife making of pies and tarts to try her oven with, but not knowing the nature of it, did heat it too hot, and so a little overbake her things, but knows how to do better another time.

14th. Into Cheapside to Mr Beachamps, the goldsmith, to look out a piece of plate to give Mr Fox from my Lord, for his favour about the £4000, and did choose a gilt tankard.

15th. To Sir W. Batten's to dinner, he having a couple of servants married to-day; and so there was a great number of servants, and others of good quality, on purpose after dinner to make an offering, which, when dinner was done, we did, and I did give ten shillings and no more, though I believe most of the rest did give more, and did believe that I did so too.

19th. I went with the Treasurer in his coach to White Hall, and in our way, in discourse, do find him a very good-natured man; and, talking of those men who now stand condemned for murdering the King, he says that he believes that if the law would give leave, the King is a man of so great compassion that he would wholly acquit them.

20th. Mr Shepley and I to the new play-house near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, (which was formerly Gibbon's tennis-court) where the play of *Beggar's Bush* was newly begun: and so we went in, and saw it well acted: and here I saw the first time one Moone, who is said to be the best actor in the world, lately come over with the King, and indeed it is the finest play-house, I believe, that ever was in England. This morning I found my Lord in bed late, he having been with the King, Queen, and Princesse, at the Cockpit [at Whitehall] all night, where General Monk treated them; and after supper a play, where the King did put a great affront upon Singleton's musique, he bidding them stop, and made the French musique play, which, my Lord says, do much outdo all ours. While my Lord was rising, I went to Mr Fox's, and there did leave the gilt tankard for Mrs Fox, and then to the counting-house to him, who hath invited me and my wife to dine with him on Thursday next, and so to see the Queene and Princesse.

21st. This morning my cozen, Thos. Pepys, the turner, sent me a cupp of *lignum vite* for a token. My wife and I went to Pater-Noster Rowe, and there we bought some greene-watered Moyre, for a morning wastecoate. And after that we went to Mr Cade's to choose some pictures for our house. I to Pope's

head [Alley], and bought me an aggate-hafted knife, which cost me 5s. At night to my viallin (the first time that I have played on it since I come to this house) in my dining-roome, and afterwards to my lute there, and I took much pleasure to have the neighbours come forth into the yard to hear me.

22d. This morning come the carpenters to make me a door at the other side of my house, going into the entry. My wife and I walked to the Old Exchange, and there she bought her a white whisk, and put it on, and I a pair of gloves. To Mr Fox's, where we found Mrs Fox within, and an alderman of London paying £1000 or £1400 in gold upon the table for the King. Mr Fox come in presently, and did receive us with a great deal of respect; and then did take my wife and I to the Queen's presence-chamber, where he got my wife placed behind the Queen's chaire, and the two Princesses come to dinner. The Queen, a very little, plain old woman, and nothing more in her presence in any respect nor garbe than any ordinary woman. The Princess of Orange I had often seen before. The Princess Henrietta is very pretty, but much below my expectation; and her dressing of herself with her haire frized short up to her eares did make her seem so much the less to me. But my wife standing near her with two or three black patches on, and well dressed, did seem to me much handsomer than she. Dinner being done, we went to Mr Fox's again, where many gentlemen dined with us, and most princely dinner—all provided for me and my friends, but I bringing none but myself and wife, he did call the company to help to eate up so much good victualls. At the end of the dinner my Lord Sandwich's health, in the gilt tankard that I did give to Mrs Fox the other day. To White Hall at about nine at night, and there, with Laud, the page that went with me, we could not get out of Henry the Eighth's gallery into the further part of the boarded gallery, where my Lord was walking with my Lord Ormond; and we had a key of Sir S. Morland's, but all would not do; till at last, by knocking, Mr Harrison, the door-keeper, did open us the door, and, after some talk with my Lord about getting a Catch to carry my Lord St Albans's goods to France, I parted and went home on foot.

26th. My father come and dined with me, who seems to take much pleasure to have a son that is neat in his house. I heard that my Lady Batten had given my wife a visit, (the first that ever she made her) which pleased me exceedingly.

December 1st. This morning, observing some things to be laid up not as they should be by my girl, I took a broom and basted her till she cried extremely, which made me vexed ; but, before I went out, I left her appeased. Went to my Lord St Albans's lodgings, and found him in bed, talking to a priest, (he looked like one) that leaned along over the side of the bed ; and there I desired to know his mind about making the Katch stay longer, which I got ready for him the other day. He seems to be a fine, civil gentleman. There fell into our company old Mr Flower and another gentleman, who did tell us how a Scotch knight was killed basely the other day at the Fleece in Covent Garden, where there had been a great many formerly killed.

2d. (Lord's day.) To church, and Mr Mills made a good sermon : so home to dinner. My wife and I all alone to a leg of mutton, the sawce of which being made sweet, I was angry at it, and eat none, but only dined upon the marrow-bone that we had beside.

3d. I rose by candle, and spent my morning in fiddling till time to go to the office. Come in my cozen Snow by chance, and I had a very good capon to dinner. So to the office again till night, and so home, and then come Mr Davis of Deptford, (the first time that ever he was at my house) and after him Monsieur L'Impertinent [Mr Butler], who is to go to Ireland to-morrow, and so come to take his leave of me. They both found me under the barber's hand ; but I had a bottle of good sack in the house, and so made them very wellcome.

4th. To the Duke of York, and he tooke us into his closet, and we did open to him our project of stopping the growing charge of the Fleet, by paying them in hand one moyety, and the other four months hence. This he do like. This day the Parliament voted that the bodies of Oliver, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Thomas Pride, should be taken up out of their graves in the Abbey, and drawn to the gallows, and there hanged and buried under it : which (methinks) do trouble me that a man of so great courage as he was should have that dishonour, though otherwise he might deserve it enough.

5th. After dinner went to the New Theatre [Killigrew's], and there I saw *The Merry Wives of Windsor* acted—the humours of the country gentleman and the French doctor very well done, but the rest but very poorly, and Sir J. Falstaffe as bad as any.

7th. To the Privy Seale, where I signed a deadly number of pardons, which do trouble me to get nothing by.

12th. To the Exchequer, and did give my mother Bowyer a visit, and her daughters, the first time that I did see them since I went last to sea. My father did offer me six pieces of gold, in lieu of six pounds that he borrowed of me the other day, but it went against me to take it of him, and therefore did not. Home and to bed, reading myself asleep, while the wench sat mending my breeches by my bedside.

17th. To the office, where both Sir Williams were come from Woolwich, and tell us that, contrary to their expectations, the *Assurance* is got up, without much damage to her body, only to the goods that she had within her, which argues her to be a strong, good ship. This day my parlour is gilded, which do please me well.

18th. All day at home, without stirring at all, looking after my workmen.

19th. This night Mr Gauden sent me a great chine of beef, and half a dozen of tongs.

20th. All day at home with my workmen, that I may get all done before Christmas. This day I hear that the Princess Royall has the smallpox.

21st. They told me that this is St Thomas's, and that, by an old custome, this day the Exchequer men had formerly, and do intend this night to have a supper ; which, if I could, I promised to come to, but did not. To my Lady's, and dined with her : she told me how dangerously ill the Princess Royal is : and that this morning she was said to be dead. But she hears that she hath married herself to young Jermyn, which is worse than the Duke of York's marrying the Chancellor's daughter, which is now publicly owned.

22d. Went to the Sun taverne, on Fish Street hill, to a dinner of Captain Teddiman's, where was my Lord Inchiquin, (who seems to be a very fine person) Sir W. Pen, Captain Cuttance, and one Mr Lawrence, (a fine gentleman, now going to Algiers) and other good company, where we had a very fine dinner, good musique, and a great deal of wine. I very merry. Went to bed : my head aching all night.

23d. (Lord's day.) In the morning to Church, where our pew all covered with rosemary and baize. A stranger made a dull

sermon. Home, and found my wife and maid with much ado had made shift to spit a great turkey sent me this week from Charles Carter, my old colleague, now minister in Huntingdonshire, but not at all roasted, and so I was fain to stay till two o'clock, and after that to church with my wife, and a good sermon there was, and so home.

25th. (Christmas day.) In the morning to church, where Mr Mills made a very good sermon. Home to dinner, where my brother Tom (who this morning come to see my wife's new mantle put on, which do please me very well) to a good shoulder of mutton and a chicken. After dinner to church again, my wife and I, where we had a dull sermon of a stranger, which made me sleep.

31st. In Paul's Church-yard I bought the play of *Henry the Fourth*, and so went to the new Theatre [Killigrew's] and saw it acted; but my expectation being too great, it did not please me, as otherwise I believe it would; and my having a book, I believe did spoil it a little. That being done, I went to my Lord's, where I found him private at cards with my Lord Lauderdale, and some persons of honour, my boy taking a cat home with him from my Lord's, which Sarah had given him for my wife, we being much troubled with mice. At White Hall we inquiring for a coach, there was a Frenchman with one eye that was going my way, so he and I hired the coach between us, and he set me down in Fenchurch Street. Strange, how the fellow, without asking, did tell me all what he was, and how he had run away from his father, and come into England to serve the King, and now going back again, &c.

1660-61

At the end of the last and the beginning of this year, I do live in one of the houses belonging to the Navy Office, as one of the principal officers, and have done now about half-a-year; my family being, myself, my wife, Jane, Will. Hewer, and Wayneman, my girl's brother. Myself in constant good health, and in a most handsome and thriving condition. Blessed be Almighty God for it! As to things of State—the King settled, and loved of all. The Duke of York matched to my Lord Chancellor's daughter, which do not please many. The Queen upon her returne to France with

the Princess Henrietta. The Princess of Orange lately dead, and we into new mourning for her. We have been lately frightened with a great plot, and many taken up on it, and the fright not quite over. The Parliament, which had done all this great good to the King, beginning to grow factious, the King did dissolve it December 29th last, and another likely to be chosen speedily. I take myself now to be worth £300 clear in money, and all my goods, and all manner of debts paid, which are none at all.

1660-61. January 1st. Mr Moore, to my great comfort, tells me that my fees will come to £80 clear to myself, and about £25 for him, which he hath got out of the pardons, though there be no fees due to me at all out of them. Then comes in my brother Thomas, and after him my father, Dr Thomas Pepys, my uncle Fenner and his two sons, (Anthony's only child dying this morning, yet he was so civil to come, and was pretty merry) to breakfast; and I had for them a barrel of oysters, a dish of neat's tongues, and a dish of anchovies, wine of all sorts, and Northdowne ale. We were very merry till about eleven o'clock, and then they went away. At noon I carried my wife by coach to my cozen, Thomas Pepys, where we, with my father, Dr Thomas, cozen Hardwick, Scott, and their wives, dined. Here I saw first his second wife, which is a very respectfull woman; but his dinner a sorry, poor dinner for a man of his estate, there being nothing but ordinary meat in it. To-day the King dined at a lord's two doors from us. Mr Moore and I went to Mr Pierce's; in our way seeing the Duke of York bring his Lady to-day to wait upon the Queen, the first time that ever she did since that business; and the Queen is said to receive her now with much respect and love; and there he cast up the fees, and I told the money, by the same token the £100 bag, after I had told it, fell all about the room, and I fear I have lost some of it. Supped with them and Mr Pierce, the purser, and his wife and mine, where we had a calf's head carboned, but it was raw—we could not eat it—and a good hen. But she is such a slut that I do not love her victualls.

5th. The great Tom Fuller come to me to desire a kindness for a friend of his, who hath a mind to go to Jamaica with these two ships that are going, which I promised to do. Staying in Paul's Churchyard, to bespeak Ogilby's *Æsop's Fables* and Tully's *Officys* to be bound for me.

12th. With Colonel Slingsby and a friend of his, Major Waters,

(a deafe and most amorous melancholy gentleman, who is under a despayr in love, as the Colonel told me, which makes him bad company, though a most good-natured man) by water to Redriffe, and so on foot to Deptford. We fell to choosing four Captains to command the guards, and choosing the place where to keep them, and other things in order thereunto. Never till now did I see the great authority of my place, all the captains of the fleete coming cap in hand to us. I went home with Mr Davis, storekeeper, (whose wife is ill, and so I could not see her) and was there most prince-like lodged, with so much respect and honour, that I was at a loss how to behave myself.

13th. (Lord's day.) To the Globe to dinner, and then with Commissioner Pett to his lodgings there, (which he hath for the present, while he is in building the King's yacht, which will be a very pretty thing, and much beyond the Dutchman's) and from thence by coach to Greenwich church, where a good sermon, a fine church, and a great company of handsome women. And so I to Mr Davis's to bed again. But no sooner in bed, but we had an alarme, and so we rose: and the Comptroller comes into the yard to us; and seamen of all the ships present repair to us, and there we armed with every one a handspike, with which they were as fierce as could be. At last we hear that it was five or six men that did ride through the guard in the towne, without stopping to the guard that was there; and some say shot at them. But all being quiet there, we caused the seamen to go on board again.

14th. The armes being come this morning from the Tower, we caused them to be distributed. I spent much time with Lieutenant Lambert, walking up and down the yards, and he dined with us. After dinner, Mrs Pett lent us her coach, and carried us to Woolwich, where we did also dispose of the arms there, and settle the guards.

18th. The Captains went with me to the post-house about nine o'clock, and after a morning draught I took a horse and guide for London; and though some rain, and a great wind in my face, I got to London at eleven o'clock. At home found all well, but the monkey loose, which did anger me, and so I did strike her till she was almost dead, that they might make her fast again, which did still trouble me more. Took Mr Holliard to the Greyhound, where he did advise me above all things, both as to the stone and the decay of my memory, (of which I now complain to him) to

avoid drinking often, which I am resolved, if I can, to leave off. Took home with me from the bookseller's Ogilby's *Æsop*, which he had bound for me, and indeed I am very much pleased with the book.

19th. To the Comptroller's, and with him by coach to White Hall; in our way meeting Venner and Pritchard upon a sledge, who with two more Fifth Monarchy men were hanged to-day, and the two first drawn and quartered. Went to the theatre, where I saw *The Lost Lady*, which do not please me much. Here I was troubled to be seen by four of our office clerkes, which sat in the half-crowne box, and I in the 1s. *od.* From hence by linke, and bought two mouse-traps of Thomas Pepys, the Turner.

21st. To Westminster Hall, to the Commissioners for paying off the Army and Navy, where the Duke of Albemarle was; and we satt with our hatts on, and did discourse about paying off the ships, and do find that they do intend to undertake it without our help; and we are glad of it, for it is a work that will much displease the poor seamen, and so we are glad to have no hand in it. It is strange what weather we have had all this winter; no cold at all; but the ways are dusty, and the flies fly up and down, and the rose-bushes are full of leaves, such a time of the year as was never known in this world before here. This day many more of the Fifth Monarchy men were hanged.

24th. There dined with me Sir William Batten and his lady and daughter, Sir W. Pen, Mr Fox, (his lady being ill could not come) and Captain Cuttance: the first dinner I have made since I come hither. This cost me above £5, and merry we were—only my chimney smokes. To bed, being glad that the trouble is over.

25th. Interrupted by Mr Salisbury's coming in, who come to see me, and to show me my Lord's picture in little, of his doing. Truly it is strange to what a perfection he is come in a year's time. This night comes two cages, which I bought this evening for my canary birds, which Captain Rooth this day sent me.

26th. There dined with me this day both the Pierces and their wives, and Captain Cuttance and Lieutenant Lambert, with whom we made ourselves very merry by taking away his ribbons and garters, having made him to confess that he is lately married.

27th. (Lord's day.) Before I rose, letters come to me from Portsmouth, telling me that the Princess is now well, and my Lord

Sandwich set sail with the Queen and her yesterday from thence to France. To church : a poor dull sermon of a stranger. Home, and at dinner was very angry at my people's eating a fine pudding, (made me by Slater, the cooke, last Thursday) without my wife's leave. This day the parson read a proclamation at church, for the keeping of Wednesday next, the 30th of January, a fast for the murther of the late King.

28th. Dined at home, and after dinner to Fleet Streete with my sword to Mr Brigden (lately made Captain of the Auxiliaries) to be refreshed, and with him to an ale-house, where I met Mr Dampart, and after some talk of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw's bodies being taken out of their graves to-day, I went to Mr Crewe's, and thence to the Theatre, where I saw again *The Lost Lady*, which do now please me better than before ; and here I sitting behind in a dark place, a lady spit backward upon me by a mistake, not seeing me ; but after seeing her to be a very pretty lady, I was not troubled at it at all. At Mr Holden's I bought a hat cost me 35s.

29th. To Southwark, and so over the fields to Lambeth, it being a most glorious and warm day even to amazement for this time of the year. My Lady gone with some company to see Hampton Court : so we went to Blackfryers, (the first time I ever was there since plays begun) and there, after great patience, and little expectations from so poor beginnings, I saw three acts of *The mayd in y^e Mill* acted to my great content. But it being late, I left the play, and by water through bridge home, and so to Mr Turner's house, where the Comptroller, Sir William Batten, and Mr Davis, and their ladies ; and here we had a most neat little but costly and genteel supper. After that, a great deal of impertinent mirth by Mr Davis, and some catches, and so broke up, and going away, Mr Davis's eldest son took up my old Lady Slingsby in his armes, and carried her to the coach, and is said to be able to carry three the biggest men that were in the company, which I wonder at.

[Feb.] 10th. (Lord's day.) Took physique all day, and, God forgive me, did spend it in reading of some little French romances. At night my wife and I did please ourselves talking of our going into France, which I hope to effect this summer.

12th. By water to Salisbury Court Play-house, where not liking to sit, we went out again, and by coach to the Theatre, and there

saw *The Scornfull Lady*, now done by a woman, which makes the play much better than ever it did to me.

13th. To Sir W. Batten's, whither I sent for my wife, and we chose Valentines against to-morrow. My wife chose me, which did much please me; my Lady Batten, Sir W. Pen, &c.

14th. (Valentine's day.) Up early, and to Sir W. Batten's, but could not go in till I asked whether they that opened the doore was a man or a woman, and Mingo, who was there, answered a woman, which, with his tone, made me laugh: so up I went, and took Mrs Martha for my Valentine, (which I do only for complacency) and Sir W. Batten he go in the same manner to my wife, and so we were very merry. About ten o'clock, we with a great deal of company went down by our barge to Deptford, and there only went to see how forward Mr Pett's yacht is; and so all into the barge again, and so to Woolwich, on board the *Rose-bush*, Captain Brown's ship, that is brother-in-law to Sir W. Batten, where we had a very fine dinner, dressed on shore, and great mirth, and all things successfull: the first time I ever carried my wife a-ship-board, as also my boy Wayneman, who hath all this day been called young Pepys, as Sir W. Pen's boy young Pen. The talk of the towne now is, who the King is like to have for his Queene: and whether Lent shall be kept with the strictnesse of the King's proclamation; which is thought cannot be, because of the poor, who cannot buy fish. And also the great preparation for the King's crowning is now much thought upon and talked of.

15th. Making up my accounts for my Lord to-morrow; and that being done, I found myself to be clear (as I think) £350 in the world, besides my goods in my house, and all things paid for.

16th. To my Lord in the morning, who looked over my accounts, and agreed to them. I do also get him to sign a bill (which do make my heart merry) for £60 to me, in consideration of my work extraordinary at sea this last voyage, which I hope to get paid. To the Theatre, where I saw the *Virgin Martyr*, a good, but too sober a play for the company.

17th. (Lord's day.) A most tedious, unreasonable, and impertinent sermon, by an Irish doctor. His text was, "Scatter them, O Lord, that delight in warr." Sir W. Batten and I very much angry with the parson.

18th. In the afternoon, my wife and I, and Mrs Martha Batten, my Valentine, to the Exchange, and there, upon a payre of em-

broydered and six payre of plain white gloves, I laid out 40s. upon her. Then we went to a Mercer's, at the end of Lombard Street, and there she bought a suit of lute-string for herself; and so home. We met with Mr Slingsby, who showed me the stamps of the King's new coyne; which is strange to see, how good they are in the stamp, and bad in the money, for lack of skill to make them. But he says Blondeau will shortly come over, and then we shall have it better, and the best in the world. He tells me, he is sure that the King is not yet married, as it is said; nor that it is known who he will have. Spent the evening in reading of a Latin play, the *Naufragium Foculare*.

21st. To Westminster by coach with Sir W. Pen, and in our way saw the city begin to build scaffolds against the Coronacion.

22d. My wife to Sir W. Batten's, and there sat a while; he having yesterday sent my wife half-a-dozen pair of gloves and a pair of silk stockings and garters, for her Valentine.

23d. This is now 28 years that I am born.

25th. To Mr Symons's, where we found him abroad, but she, like a good lady, within, and there we did eat some nettle porridge, which was made on purpose to-day for some of their coming, and was very good.

26th. (Shrove Tuesday.) To Mr Crewe's, and there delivered Cotgrave's dictionary to my Lady Jemimah. To Mrs Turner's, where several friends, all strangers to me but Mr Armiger, dined. Very merry, and the best fritters that ever I eat in my life. After that, looked out at window: saw the flinging at cocks.

28th. Notwithstanding my resolution, yet, for want of other victualls, I did eat flesh this Lent, but am resolved to eat as little as I can. This month ends with two great secrets under dispute, but yet known to very few: first, Who the King will marry; and What the meaning of this fleet is which we are now sheathing to set out for the southward. Most think against Algier, against the Turke, or to the East Indys against the Dutch, who, we hear, are setting out a great fleet thither.

[March] 8th. All the morning at the office. At noon, Sir William Batten, Colonel Slingsby, and I by coach to the Tower, to Sir John Robinson's, to dinner; where great good cheer. High company; among others the Duchess of Albemarle, who is ever a plain homely dowdy. After dinner, to drink all the afternoon. Towards night the Duchess and ladies went away. Then we set

to it again till it was very late ; and at last come in Sir William Wale, almost fuddled ; and because I was set between him and another, only to keep them from talking and spoiling the company, (as we did to others) he fell out with the Lieutenant of the Tower ; but with much ado we made him understand his error, and then all quiet. I was much contented to ride in such state into the Tower, and be received among such high company, while Mr Mount, my Lady Duchess's gentleman usher, stood waiting at table, whom I ever thought a man so much above me in all respects ; also to hear the discourse of so many high Cavaliers of things past. It was a great content and joy to me.

9th. To my Lord's, where we found him lately come from Hinchinbroke. I staid and dined with him. He took me aside, and asked me what the world spoke of the King's marriage, which I answering as one that knew nothing, he enquired no further of me. But I do perceive by it that there is something in it that is ready to come out that the world knows not of yet.

13th. Early up in the morning to read *The Seaman's Grammar and Dictionary* I lately have got, which do please me exceeding well.

17th. (Lord's day.) At church in the morning, a stranger preached a good honest and painfull sermon. My wife and I dined upon a chine of beef at Sir W. Batten's, so to church again. Then to supper at Sir W. B. again, where my wife by chance fell down and hurt her knees exceedingly.

25th. (Lady day.) In the morning some workmen to begin of making of me a new pair of stairs up out of my parlour, which, with other work that I have to do, I doubt will keep me this two months, and so long I shall be all in dirt ; but the work do please me very well. Come Mr Salisbury to see me, and shewed me a face or two of his paynting, and indeed I perceive that he will be a great master. I took him to Whitehall with me by water, but he could not by any means be moved to go through the bridge, and we were faine to go round by the Old Swan. To my Lord's, and there I shewed him the King's picture, which he intends to copy out in little. After that, I and Captain Ferrers to Salisbury Court by water, and saw part of the *Queen's Maske*. The. Turner in a great chafe, about being disappointed of a room to stand in at the Coronacion. Homewards, and took up a boy that had a lanthorne, that was picking up of rags, and got him to light me

home, and had great discourse with him how he could get sometimes three or four bushells of rags in a day, and got 3*d*. a bushel for them, and many other discourses, what and how many ways there are for poor children to get their livings honestly.

28th. I went to Sir Robert Slingsby, (he being newly maister of that title by being a Barronett) to discourse about Mr Creed's accounts to be made up; and from thence by coach to my cozen, Thomas Pepys, to borrow £1000 for my Lord. Then with Mr Shepley to the Theatre, and saw *Rollo* ill acted.

31st. (Sunday.) At church, where a stranger preached like a fool. Dined with my wife, staying at home, she being unwilling to dress herself, the house being all dirty.

[April] 3d. Up among my workmen, my head akeing all day from last night's debauch. At noon dined with Sir W. Batten and Pen, who would have me drink two good draughts of sack to-day, to cure me of my last night's disease, which I thought strange, but I think find it true. I hear that the Dutch have sent the King a great present of money, which we think will stop the match with Portugall; and judge this to be the reason that our so great haste in sending the two ships to the East Indys is also stayed.

6th. Among other things met with Mr Townsend, who told of his mistake the other day, to put both his legs through one of his knees of his breeches, and went so all day. Creed and I to Salisbury Court, and there saw *Love's Quarrell* acted the first time, but I do not like the design nor words.

7th. (Lord's day.) All the morning at home making up my accounts (God forgive me!) to give up to my Lord this afternoon.

8th. About eight o'clock, we took barge at the Tower, Sir William Batten and his lady, Mrs Turner, Mr Fowler, and I. A very pleasant passage, and so to Gravesend, where we dined, and from thence a coach took them, and me and Mr Fowler, with some others, come from Rochester to meet us, on horseback. At Rochester, where alight at Mr Alcock's, and there drank, and had good sport, with his bringing out so many sorts of cheese. Then to the Hill-house at Chatham, where I never was before, and I found a pretty pleasant house, and am pleased with the armes that hang up there. Here we supped very merry, and late to bed; Sir William telling me that old Edgeborough, his predecessor, did die and walk in my chamber, did make me somewhat afraid, but

not so much as, for mirth sake, I did seem. So to bed, in the Treasurer's chamber.

9th. Lay and slept well till three in the morning, and then waking, and by the light of the moon I saw my pillow (which overnight I flung from me) stand upright, but, not bethinking myself what it might be, I was a little afraid, but sleep overcome all, and so lay till nigh morning, at which time I had a candle brought me, and a good fire made, and in general it was a great pleasure all the time I staid here to see how I am respected and honoured by all people; and I find that I begin to know now how to receive so much reverence, which, at the beginning, I could not tell how to do.

10th. In the morning to see the Dock-houses. On board the *Prince*, now in the dock, and indeed it has one and no more rich cabins for carved work, but no gold in her. After that, back home, and there eat a little dinner. Then to Rochester, and there saw the Cathedrall, which is now fitting for use, and the organ then a-tuning. Then away thence, observing the great doors of the church, as they say, covered with the skins of the Danes. And also had much mirth at a tombe.

13th. To Whitehall by water from Towre-wharfe, where we could not pass the ordinary way, because they were mending of the great stone steps against the Coronacion. Met my Lord with the Duke; and after a little talk with him, I went to the Banquet-house, and there saw the King heale, the first time that ever I saw him do it; which he did with great gravity, and it seemed to me to be an ugly office and a simple one.

17th. By land, and saw the arches, which are now almost done, and are very fine, and I saw the picture of the ships and other things this morning, set up before the East Indy House, which are well done. Comes Mr Allen, of Chatham, and I took him to the Mitre, and there did drink with him. His daughters are to come to town to-morrow, but I know not whether I shall see them. Talk of Mr Warren's being knighted by the King, and Sir W. B. seemed to be very much incensed against him.

18th. Up with my workmen, and then, about nine o'clock, took horse with both the Sir Williams, for Walthamstow, and there we found my Lady and her daughters all; and a pleasant day it was, and all things else, but that my Lady was in a bad moode, which we were troubled at, and had she been noble, she would

not have been so with her servants, when we come thither, and this Sir W. Pen took notice of, as well as I. After dinner, we all went to the Church-stile, and there eate and drank, and I was as merry as I could counterfeite myself to be. Then, it raining hard, homewards again, and in our way met with two country fellows upon one horse, which I did, without much ado, give the way to, but Sir W. Pen would not, but struck them, and they him, and so passed away, but they, giving him some high words, he went back again, and struck them off their horse, in a simple fury, and without much honour, in my mind, and so come away.

19th. So foule that I could not go to White Hall to see the Knights of the Bath made to-day, which do trouble me mightily.

CORONAÇON DAY

23d. About four I rose and got to the Abbey, where I followed Sir J. Denham, the surveyor, with some company he was leading in. And with much ado, by the favour of Mr Cooper, his man, did get up into a great scaffold across the North end of the Abbey, where with a great deal of patience I sat from past four till eleven before the King come in. And a great pleasure it was to see the Abbey raised in the middle, all covered with red, and a throne (that is, a chaire) and footstoole on the top of it; and all the officers of all kinds, so much as the very fiddlers, in red vests. At last comes in the Dean and Prebendaries of Westminster, with the Bishops, (many of them in cloth of gold copes), and after them the Nobility, all in their Parliament robes, which was a most magnificent sight. Then the Duke, and the King with a sceptre (carried by my Lord Sandwich) and sword and wand before him, and the crowne too. The King in his robes, bare-headed, which was very fine. And after all had placed themselves, there was a sermon and the service; and then in the Quire at the high altar, the King passed through all the ceremonies of the Coronaçon, which to my great grief I and most in the Abbey could not see. The crowne being put upon his head, a great shout begun, and he come forth to the throne, and there passed through more ceremonies: as taking the oath, and having things read to him by the Bishopp; and his lords (who put on their caps as soon as the King put on his crowne) and bishops come, and kneeled before him. And three times the King at Armes went to the three open places on the scaffold, and pro-

claimed, that if any one could show any reason why Charles Stewart should not be King of England, that now he should come and speak. And a Generall Pardon also was read by the Lord Chancellor, and meddalls flung up and down by my Lord Cornwallis, of silver, but I could not come by any. But so great a noise that I could make but little of the musique; and indeed, it was lost to every body. I went out a little while before the King had done all his ceremonies, and went round the Abbey to Westminster Hall, all the way within rayles, and 10,000 people with the ground covered with blue cloth; and scaffolds all the way. Into the Hall I got, where it was very fine with hangings and scaffolds one upon another full of brave ladies; and my wife in one little one, on the right hand. Here I staid walking up and down, and at last upon one of the side stalls I stood and saw the King come in with all the persons (but the soldiers) that were yesterday in the cavalcade; and a most pleasant sight it was to see them in their several robes. And the King come in with his crowne on, and his sceptre in his hand, under a canopy borne up by six silver staves, carried by Barons of the Cinque Ports, and little bells at every end. And after a long time, he got up to the farther end, and all set themselves down at their several tables; and that was also a brave sight: and the King's first course carried up by the Knights of the Bath. And many fine ceremonies there was of the Heralds leading up people before him, and bowing; and my Lord of Albemarle's going to the kitchen and eating a bit of the first dish that was to go to the King's table. But, above all, was these three Lords, Northumberland, and Suffolke, and the Duke of Ormond, coming before the courses on horseback, and staying so all dinner-time, and at last bringing up [Dymock], the King's Champion, all in armour on horseback, with his speare and targett carried before him. And a Herald proclaims "That if any dare deny Charles Stuart to be lawful King of England, here was a Champion that would fight with him"; and with these words, the Champion flings down his gauntlet, and all this he do three times in his going up towards the King's table. To which, when he is come, the King drinks to him, and then sends him the cup which is of gold, and he drinks it off, and then rides back again with the cup in his hand. I went from table to table to see the Bishops and all others at their dinner, and was infinitely pleased with it. And at the Lords' table, I met with William Howe, and he spoke to my Lord

for me, and he did give him four rabbits and a pullet, and so Mr Creed and I got Mr Minshell to give us some bread, and so we at a stall eat it, as every body else did what they could get. I took a great deal of pleasure to go up and down, and look upon the ladies, and to hear the musique of all sorts, but above all, the 24 violins. About six at night they had dined, and I went up to my wife. And strange it is to think, that these two days have held up fair till now that all is done, and the King gone out of the Hall; and then it fell a-raining and thundering and lightening as I have not seen it do for some years: which people did take great notice of; God's blessing of the work of these two days, which is a foolery to take too much notice of such things. I observed little disorder in all this, only the King's footmen had got hold of the canopy, and would keep it from the Barons of the Cinque Ports, which they endeavoured to force from them again, but could not do it till my Lord Duke of Albemarle caused it to be put into Sir R. Pye's hand till to-morrow to be decided. At Mr Bowyer's; a great deal of company, some I knew, others I did not. Here we staid upon the leads and below till it was late, expecting to see the fire-works, but they were not performed to-night: only the City had a light like a glory round about it, with bonfires. At last, I went to King Streete, and there sent Crockford to my father's and my house, to tell them I could not come home to-night, because of the dirt, and a coach could not be had. And so I took my wife and Mrs Frankleyn (who I profered the civility of lying with my wife at Mrs Hunt's to-night) to Axeyard, in which, at the further end, there were three great bonfires, and a great many gallants, men and women; and they laid hold of us, and would have us drink the King's health upon our knees, kneeling upon a faggot, which we all did, they drinking to us one after another, which we thought a strange frolique; but these gallants continued there a great while, and I wondered to see how the ladies did tipple. At last, I sent my wife and her bedfellow to bed, and Mr Hunt and I went in with Mr Thornbury (who did give the company all their wine, he being yeoman of the wine-cellar to the King); and there, with his wife and two of his sisters, and some gallant sparks that were there, we drank the King's health, and nothing else, till one of the gentlemen fell down stark drunk, and there lay; and I went to my Lord's pretty well. But no sooner a-bed with Mr Shepley but my head began to turn, and if ever I was foxed,

it was now, which I cannot say yet, because I fell asleep, and slept till morning. Thus did the day end with joy every where ; and blessed be God, I have not heard of any mischance to any body through it all, but only to Serjeant Glynne, whose horse fell upon him yesterday, and is like to kill him, which people do please themselves to see how just God is to punish the rogue at such a time as this ; he being now one of the King's Serjeants, and rode in the cavalcade with Maynard, to whom people wish the same fortune. There was also this night, in King Streete, a woman had her eye put out by a boy's flinging a fire-brand into the coach. Now, after all this, I can say, that, besides the pleasure of the sight of these glorious things, I may now shut my eyes against any other objects, nor for the future trouble myself to see things of state and showe, as being sure never to see the like again in this world.

24th. Waked in the morning, with my head in a sad taking through the last night's drink, which I am very sorry for : so rose, and went out with Mr Creed to drink our morning draught, which he did give me in chocolate to settle my stomach. At night, set myself to write down these three days' diary, and, while I am about it, I hear the noise of the chambers, and other things of the fireworks, which are now playing upon the Thames before the King ; and I wish myself with them, being sorry not to see them.

30th. This morning my wife and I and Mr Creed took coach, and in Fish Street took up Mr Hater and his wife, who, through her maske, seemed at first to be an old woman, but afterwards I found her to be a very pretty, modest black woman. We got a small bait at Leatherhead, and so to Godlyman, where we lay all night ; and were very merry, having this day no other extraordinary rencontre but my hat falling off of my head at Newington into the water, by which it was spoiled and I ashamed of it.

May 1st. Up early, and baited at Petersfield. Then we set forth again, and so to Portsmouth, seeming to me to be a very pleasant and strong place.

2d. Up, and Mr Creed and I to walk round the town upon the walls. Then to our inne, and there all the officers of the Yard to see me with great respect, and I walked with them to the Dock, and saw all the stores, and much pleased with the sight of the place. Back, and brought them all to dinner with me, and

treated them handsomely; and so after dinner by water to the Yard, and there we made the sale of the old provisions. Then we and our wives all to see the *Montagu*, which is a fine ship, and so to the town again by water, and then to see the room where the Duke of Buckingham was killed by Felton.

4th. Up in the morning, and took coach, and so to Gilford, where we lay at the Red Lyon, the best inne, and lay in the room the King lately lay in, where we had time to see the Hospital, built by Archbishop Abbott, and the free schoole, and were civilly treated by the Mayster. So to supper and to bed, being very merry about our discourse with the Drawers concerning the minister of the towne, with a red face and a girdle.

5th. (Lord's day.) Mr Creed and I went to the red-faced Parson's church, and heard a good sermon of him, better than I looked for. Anon we walked into the garden, and there played the fool a great while, trying who of Mr Creed or I could go best over the edge of an old fountaine well, and I won a quart of sack of him. Then to supper in the banquet-house, and there my wife and I did talk high, she against and I for Mrs Pierce (that she was a beauty), till we were both angry. Then to walk in the fields, and so to our quarters, and to bed.

6th. Up by four o'clock, and took coach, and so home. I hear to-night that the Duke of York's son is this day dead, which, I believe, will please everybody; and I hear that the Duke and his Lady themselves are not much troubled at it.

11th. To Graye's Inn, and there to a barber's, where I was trimmed and had my haire cutt, in which I am lately become a little curious, finding that the length of it do become me very much.

12th. (Lord's day.) At the Savoy heard Dr Fuller preach upon David's words, "I will wait with patience all the days of my appointed time until my change comes"; but methought it was a poor, dry sermon. And I am afraid my former high esteem of his preaching was more out of opinion than judgment. Met with Mr Creed, with whom I went and walked in Graye's-Inn-walks, and from thence to Islington, and there eate and drank at the house my father and we were wont of old to go to; and after that walked homeward, and parted in Smithfield: and so I home, much wondering to see how things are altered with Mr Creed, who, twelve months ago, might have been got to hang himself almost as soon as go to a drinking-house on a Sunday.

14th. Finding my head grow weak now-a-days, if I come to drink wine, and therefore hope that I shall leave it off of myself, which I pray God I could do.

17th. Lieutenant Lambert and I to the Exchange, and thence to an ordinary over against it, where to our dinner we had a fellow play well upon the bagpipes, and whistle like a bird exceedingly well, and I had a fancy to learn to whistle as he do, and did promise to come some other day, and give him an angell to teach me.

28th. With Mr Shepley to the Exchange about business, and there, by Mr Rawlinson's favour, got into a balcone over against the Exchange; and there saw the hangman burn, by vote of Parliament, two old acts, the one for constituting us a Commonwealth, and the other I have forgot; which still do make me think of the greatness of this late turne, and what people will do to-morrow against what they all, through profit or fear, did promise and practice this day. To Cheapside, about buying a piece of plate to give away to-morrow to Mrs Browne's child.

29th. (King's birth-day.) To dinner at Sir William Batten's; and then, after a walk in the fine gardens, we went to Mrs Browne's, where Sir W. Pen and I were godfathers, and Mrs Jordan and Shipman godmothers to her boy. And there, before and after the christening, we were with the woman above in her chamber; but whether we carried ourselves well or ill, I know not; but I was directed by young Mrs Batten. One passage of a lady that eat wafers with her dog did a little displease me. I did give the mid-wife 10s., and the nurse 5s., and the maid of the house 2s. But forasmuch as I expected to give the name to the childe, but did not, it being called John, I forbore then to give my plate till another time, after a little more advice. Being done, we went to Mrs Shipman's, who is a great butter-woman, and I did see there the most of milke and creame, and the cleanest that ever I saw in my life. After we had filled our bellies with creame, we took our leaves and away. In our way, we had great sport to try who should drive fastest, Sir W. Batten's coach, or Sir W. Pen's chariott, they having four, and we two horses, and we beat them. But it cost me the spoiling of my clothes and velvet coate with dirt. Being come home, I to bed, and give my breeches to be dried by the fire against to-morrow.

June 1st. Having dined at Woolwich, with Captain Poole, at the taverne there, by water to Deptford. We walked to Redriffe,

calling at the half-way house, and there come into a room where there was infinite of new cakes placed that are made against Whitsuntide, and there we were very merry.

2d. (Whitsunday.) The barber having done with me, I went to church, and there heard a good sermon of Mr Mills fit for the day. To church again. It rained very hard, as it hath done of late, so much so that we begin to doubt a famine.

5th. This morning did give my wife £4, to lay out upon lace and other things for herself. Sir W. Pen and I went out with Sir R. Slingsby to bowles in his ally, and there had good sport. I took my flageolette, and played upon the leads in the garden, where Sir W. Pen come out in his shirt into his leads, and there we staid talking and singing and drinking great draughts of claret, and eating botargo, and bread and butter till twelve at night, it being moonshine; and so to bed, very near fuddled.

6th. My head hath aaked all night, and all this morning, with my last night's debauch. Called up this morning by Lieutenant Lambert, who is now made Captain of the Norwich, and he and I went down by water to Greenwich, and eat and drank and heard musique at the Globe, and saw the simple motion that is there of a woman with a rod in her hand keeping time to the musique while it plays, which is simple, methinks. Back again by water, calling at Captain Lambert's house, which is very handsome and neat, and a fine prospect at top. So to the office. The weather very hot, this night I left off my wastecoate.

13th. To Alderman Backwell's, but his servants not being up, I went home, and put on my grey cloth suit and faced white coate, made of one of my wife's pettycoates, the first time I have had it on, and so in a riding garbe back again. With my Lord to White Hall by water, and he having taken leave of the King, comes to us at his lodgings, and from thence goes to the Garden-staires, and there takes barge, and at the staires was met by Sir R. Slingsby, who there took his leave of my Lord, and I heard my Lord thank him for his kindness to me, which Sir Robert answered much to my advantage. I went down with my Lord in the barge to Deptford, and there went on board the Dutch yacht, and staid there a good while, W. Howe not being come with my Lord's things, which made my Lord very angry. By and by he comes, and so we set sayle, and anon went to dinner, my Lord and we very merry; and after dinner, I went down below, and there sang, and took leave of

W. Howe, Captain Rolt, and the rest of my friends, then went up and took leave of my Lord, who give me his hand, and parted with great respect. So went, and Captain Ferrers with me, into our wherry, and my Lord did give five guns, all they had charged, which was the greatest respect my Lord could do me, and of which I was not a little proud. So with a sad and merry heart I left them sailing presently from Erith, hoping to be in the Downes to-morrow early. We toward London in our boat. Pulled off our stockings, and bathed our legs a great while in the river, which I had not done some years before. By and by we come to Greenwich, and thinking to have gone on the King's yacht, the King was in her, so we passed by, and at Woolwich went on shore; and I home, and with wine enough in my head, went to bed.

[July] 2d. My father writes that my uncle is by fits stupid, and like a man that is drunk, and sometimes speechless. Went to Sir William Davenant's Opera; this being the fourth day that it hath begun, and the first that I have seen it. To-day was acted the second part of *The Siege of Rhodes*. We staid a very great while for the King and Queen of Bohemia; and by the breaking of a board over our heads, we had a great deal of dust fell into the ladies' necks and the men's haire, which made good sport. The King being come, the scene opened; which indeed is very fine and magnificent, and well acted, all but the Eunuche, who was so much out that he was hissed off the stage.

24th. This morning my wife in bed tells me of our being robbed of our silver tankard, which vexed me all day for the negligence of my people to leave the door open. To the Wardrobe, but come too late, and dined with the servants. And then to my Lady, who do shew my wife and me the greatest favour in the world, in which I take great content. To the office all the afternoon, which is a great pleasure to me again, to talk with persons of quality, and to be in command, and I give it out among them that the estate left me is £200 a year in land, besides moneys, because I would put an esteem upon myself. I hear that my man Will hath lost his clock with my tankard, at which I am very glad.

28th. (Lord's day.) To church, and then come home with us Sir W. Pen, and drank with us, and then went away, and my wife after him, to see his daughter that is lately come out of Ireland; and whereas I expected she should have been a great beauty, she is a very plain girl. This evening my wife gives me all my

linen, which I have put up, and intend to keep it now in my own custody.

31st. Singing-master come to me this morning : then to the office all the morning. In the afternoon I went to the Theatre, and there I saw *The Tamer Tamed* well done.

August 1st. This morning Sir Williams both, and my wife and I, and Mrs Margaret Pen (this first time that I have seen her since she come from Ireland) went by coach to Walthamstowe, a-gossiping to Mrs Browne, where I did give her six silver spoons for her boy. Here we had a venison pasty, brought hot from London, and were very merry.

2d. I made myself ready to get a-horseback for Cambridge. So I set out and rode to Ware, this night, in the way having much discourse with a fellmonger, a quaker, who told me what a wicked man he had been all his life-time till within this two years. Here I lay.

4th. (Lord's day.) Walked in the orchard with my cozen Roger, and there discoursed about my uncle's will, in which he did give me good satisfaction, but tells me I shall meet with a great deal of trouble in it. However, in all things he told me what I am to expect and what to do. To church, and had a good plain sermon. At our coming in, the country-people all rose with so much reverence ; and when the parson begins, he begins " Right Worshipfull and dearly beloved " to us. To church again, and, after supper, to talk about publique matters, wherein Roger Pepys told me how basely things have been carried in Parliament by the young men, that did labour to oppose all things that were moved by serious men. That they are the most prophane swearing fellows that ever he heard in his life, which makes him think that they will spoil all, and brings things into a warr again, if they can.

5th. Early to Huntingdon, but was fain to stay a great while at Stanton because of the rayne, and there borrowed a coat of a man for 6d., and so he rode all the way, poor man, without any. Staid at Huntingdon for a little, but the judges were not yet come hither : so I went to Brampton, and there found my aunt gone from the house, which I am glad of, though it cost us a great deal of money, viz. £10. After dinner, took horse, and rode to Yelling, to my cozen Nightingale's, who hath a pretty house here, and did learn of her all she could tell me concerning my business.

6th. Home to my father, who could discern that I had been drinking, which he did never see or hear of before : so I eat a bit

of dinner, and then took horse for London, and with much ado, the ways being very bad, got to Baldwick. There lay, and had a good supper by myself. The landlady being a pretty woman, but I durst not take notice of her, her husband being there. Before dinner, I went to see the church, which is a very handsome church. I find that both here and everywhere else that I come, the Quakers do still continue, and grow rather than lessen.

7th. Called up at three o'clock, and was a-horseback by four ; and, as I was eating my breakfast, I saw a man riding by that rode a little way upon the road with me last night ; and he, being going with venison in his panyards to London, I called him in, and did give him his breakfast with me ; and so we went together all the way. At Hatfield, we bayted and walked into the great house through all the courts ; and I would fain have stolen a pretty dog that followed me, but I could not, which troubled me. To horse again, and by degrees with much ado got to London, where I found all well at home, and at my father's, and my Lady's, but no newes yet from my Lord where he is.

10th. This morning come the mayde that my wife hath lately hired for a chamber-mayde. She is very ugly, so that I cannot care for her, but otherwise she seems very good. To the Theatre—*The Merry Devill of Edmunton*, a very merry play, the first time I ever saw it, which pleased me well.

11th. (Lord's day.) To our own church in the forenoon, and in the afternoon to Clerkenwell church, only to see the two fayre Botelers ; and I happened to be placed in the pew where they afterwards come to sit, but the pew by their coming being too full, I went out into the next, and there sat, and had my full view of them both, but I am out of conceit now with them, Colonel Dillon being come back from Ireland again, and do still court them, and comes to church with them, which makes me think they are not honest. Hence to Graye's-Inn Walks, and there staid a good while ; where I met with Ned Pickering, who told me what a great match of hunting of a stag the King had yesterday ; and how the King tired all their horses, and come home with not above two or three able to keep pace with him.

16th. At the office all the morning, though little to do ; because all our clerkes are gone to the buriall of Tom Whitton, one of the Comptroller's clerkes, a very ingenious and a likely young man to live, as any in the Office. But it is such a sickly time both in

the City and country every where, of a sort of fever, that never was heard of almost, unless it was in a plague-time. Among others, the famous Tom Fuller is dead of it; and Dr Nicholls, Dean of Paul's; and my Lord General Monk is very dangerously ill. Dined at home with the children, and were merry. My aunt Fenner is upon the point of death.

19th. This day my aunt Fenner died.

31st. To Bartholomew faire, and there met with my Ladies Jemimah and Paulina, with Mr Pickering and Mademoiselle, at seeing the monkeys dance, which was much to see, when they could be brought to do, but it troubled me to sit among such nasty company. After that, with them into Christ's Hospitall, and there Mr Pickering bought them some fairings, and I did give every one of them a bauble, which was the little globes of glass with things hanging in them, which pleased the ladies very well.

Thus ends the month. My mayde Jane newly gone, and Pall left now to do all the work till another mayde comes, which shall not be till she goes away into the country with my mother. No money comes in, so that I have been forced to borrow a great deal for my own expenses, and to furnish my father, to leave things in order. I have some trouble about my brother Tom, who is now left to keep my father's trade, in which I have great fears that he will miscarry for want of brains and care. At Court things are in very ill condition, there being so much emulation, poverty, and the vices of drinking and swearing, that I know not what will be the end of it, but confusion. And the Clergy so high, that all people that I meet with do protest against their practice. In short, I see no content or satisfaction any where, in any one sort of people. The Benevolence proves so little, and an occasion of so much discontent everywhere, that it had better it had never been set up. I think to subscribe £20. We are at our Office quiet, only for lack of money all things go to rack. Our very bills offered to be sold upon the Exchange at 10 per cent. loss. We are upon getting Sir R. Ford's house added to our Office; but I see so many difficulties will follow in pleasing of one another in the dividing of it, and in becoming bound personally to pay the rent of £200 per annum, that I do believe it will yet scarce come to pass. The season very sickly everywhere of strange and fatal fevers.

September 1st. (Lord's day.) Last night being very rainy, [the water] broke into my house, the gutter being stopped, and spoiled

all my ceilings almost. At church in the morning. After dinner we were very merry with Sir W. Pen about the loss of his tankard, though all be but a cheate, and he do not yet understand it; but the tankard was stole by Sir W. Batten, and the letter, as from the thief, wrote by me, which makes very good sport.

2d. Mr Pickering and I to Westminster Hall again, and there walked an houre or two talking, and, though he be a fool, yet he keeps much company, and will tell all he sees or hears, and so a man may understand what the common talk of the town is.

5th. Put my mother and Pall into the waggon, and saw them going presently—Pall crying exceedingly. To my uncle Fenner's to dinner, in the way meeting a French footman with feathers, who was in quest of my wife, and spoke with her privately, but I could not tell what it was, only my wife promised to go to some place to-morrow morning, which do trouble my mind how to know whither it was. My wife and I to the fair, and I showed her the Italians dancing the ropes, and the women that do strange tumbling tricks.

8th. (Lord's day.) To church, and coming home again, found our new mayd Doll asleep, that she could not hear to let us in, so we were fain to send a boy in at a window to open the door to us. Begun to look over my accounts, and, upon the whole, I do find myself, by what I can yet see, worth near £600, for which God be blessed.

16th. Word is brought me from my brother's, that there is a fellow come from my father out of the country, on purpose to speak with me, and he made a story how he had lost his letter, but he was sure it was for me to come into the country, which I believed, but I afterwards found that it was a rogue that did use to play such tricks to get money of people, but he got none of me. Letters from my father informing me of the Court, and that I must come down and meet him at Impington, which I presently resolved to do.

17th. Got up, telling my wife of my journey, and she got me to hire her a horse to go along with me. So I went to my Lady's, and of Mr Townsend did borrow a very fine side-saddle for my wife, and so, after all things were ready, she and I took coach to the end of the towne towards Kingsland, and there got upon my horse, and she upon her pretty mare that I hired her, and she rides very well. By the mare at one time falling, she got a

fall, but no harm; so we got to Ware, and there supped, and went to bed.

18th. Up early, and begun our march; the way about Puckridge very bad, and my wife, in the very last dirty place of all, got a fall, but no hurt, though some dirt. At last, she begun, poor wretch, to be tired, and I to be angry at it, but I was to blame; for she is a very good companion as long as she is well. In the afternoon, we got to Cambridge, where I left my wife at my cozen Angier's, while I went to Christ's College, and there found my brother in his chamber, and talked with him, and so to the barber's and then to my wife again, and remounted for Impington, where my uncle received me and my wife very kindly.

23d. We took horse, and got early to Baldwick, where there was a fair, and we put in, and eat a mouthfull of porke, which they made us pay 14^d. for, which vexed me much. And so away to Stevenage, and staid till a showre was over, and so rode easily to Welling. We supped well, and had two beds in the room, and so lay single.

24th. We rose, and set forth, but found a most sad alteration in the roade, by reason of last night's rains, they being now all dirty and washy, though not deep. So we rode easily through, and only drinking at Holloway, at the sign of a woman with cakes in one hand, and a pot of ale in the other, which did give good occasion of mirth, resembling her to the mayd that served us, we got home very timely and well, and finding there all well, and letters from sea, that speak of my Lord's being well; and his Action, though not considerable of any side, at Algiers.

29th. (Lord's day.) What at dinner and supper I drink, I know not how, of my own accord, so much wine, that I was even almost foxed, and my head aaked all night; so home and to bed, without prayers, which I never did yet, since I come to the house, of a Sunday night: I being now so out of order that I durst not read prayers, for fear of being perceived by my servants in what case I was.

October 2d. We went to the Theatre, but coming late, and sitting in an ill place, I never had so little pleasure in a play in my life, yet it was the first time that I ever saw it—*Victoria Corombona*. Methinks a very poor play.

4th. By coach to White Hall with Sir W. Pen. So to Mr Montagu, where his man, Monsieur Eschar, makes a great complaint

against the English, that they did help the Spaniards against the French the other day; and that their Embassador do demand justice of our King, and that he do resolve to be gone for France the next week; which I, and all that I met with, are glad of. I found my wife vexed at her people for grumbling to eate Suffolk cheese, which I also am vexed at.

8th. After office done, went and eat some Colchester oysters with Sir W. Batten, and there, with some company, dined, and staid there talking all the afternoon, and late after dinner took Mrs Martha out by coach, and carried her to the Theatre in a frolique, to my great expence, and there shewed her part of the *Beggar's Bush*, without much pleasure, and so home again.

10th. Sir W. Pen, and my wife and I, to the Theatre, where the King come to-day, and there was *The Traytor*, most admirably acted; and a most excellent play it is.

13th (Lord's day.) This day left off half-skirts, and put on a wastecoate, and my false taby wastecoate with gold lace.

14th. To Mr Pim's, my Lord's taylour's, and there he went out with us to the Fountaine taverne, and it being the Duke of York's birthday, we drank the more to his health.

17th. Dined with Captain Lambert and his father-in-law, and had much talk of Portugall; from whence he is lately come, and he tells me it is a very poor dirty place; I mean, the City and Court of Lisbone; that the King is a very rude and simple fellow; and, for reviling of somebody a little while ago, had been killed, had he not told them that he was their King. That there are no glass windows, nor will they have any; which makes sport among our merchants there to talk of an English factor that, being newly come thither, writ into England that glasse would be a good commodity to send thither, &c. That the King has his meat sent up by a dozen of lazy guards and in pipkins, sometimes, to his own table; and sometimes nothing but fruits, and, now and then, half a hen. And that now the Infanta is become our Queen, she is come to have a whole hen or goose to her table.

19th. We had a very good and handsome dinner and excellent wine. I not being neat in clothes, which I find a great fault in me, could not be so merry as otherwise, and at all times I am, and can be, when I am in good habitt, which makes me remember my father Osborne's rule for a gentleman, to spare in all things rather than that.

20th. (Lord's day.) Much offended in mind at a proud trick

my man Will hath got, to keep his hat on in the house, but I will not speak of it to him to-day, but I fear I shall be troubled with his pride and laziness, though in other things he is good enough. To church in the afternoon, where a sleepy Presbyter preached, and then to Sir W. Batten, who is to go to Portsmouth to-morrow to wait upon the Duke of York, who goes to take possession, and to set in order the garrison there.

21st. By coach to Chelsey, to my Lord Privy Seale's, but have missed of coming time enough. Mr Paynter, the goldsmith, did make good sport of his losing so much by the King's coming in, he having bought much of Crowne lands, of which, God forgive me! I am very glad. To the Opera, which is now newly begun to act again, after some alteration of their scene, which do make it very much worse; but the play, *Love and Honour*, being the first time of their acting it, is a very good plot, and well done.

22d. At the office all the morning, where we had a deputation from the Duke in his absence, he being gone to Portsmouth, for us to have the whole disposal and ordering of the Fleet.

23d. To the Opera, and there I saw again *Love and Honour*, and a very good play it is. This day all our office is invited against Tuesday next, my Lord Mayor's day, to dinner with him at Guildhall.

25th. I did give my man Will a sound lesson about his forbearing to give us the respect due to a master and mistress.

31st. With my mind full of trouble, to my uncle Fenner's, when at the alehouse I found him drinking, and very jolly and youthsom, and as one that I believe will in a little time get him a wife.

November 1st. To the Theatre, to *The Jovial Crew*. At my house Sir William sent for his son, Mr William Pen, lately come from Oxford.

2d. At the office all the morning; where Sir John Minnes, our new comptroller, was fetched by Sir William Pen and myself from Sir William Batten's, and led to his place in the office: the first time that he had come thither, and he seems in a good fair condition, and one that I am glad hath the office.

3d. (Lord's day.) At night, my wife and I had a good supper by ourselves of a pullet hashed, which pleased me much to see my condition come to allow ourselves a dish like that.

4th. With my wife to the Opera, where we saw *The Bondman*,

which of old we did so doate on, and do still ; though to both our thinking not so well acted here, having too great expectations, as formerly at Salisbury Court. But for Betterton, he is called by us both the best actor in the world.

5th. To the Dolphin, where Armiger and I, and Captain Cocke, sat late and drank much, seeing the boys in the streets flying their crackers. This day being kept all the day very strictly in the city.

9th. With my Lady all the afternoon. My Lady did mightily urge me to lay out money upon my wife, which I perceived was a little more earnest than ordinary, and so I seemed to be pleased with it, and do resolve to bestow a lace upon her.

11th. Captain Ferrers carried me the first time that ever I saw any gaming-house, to one, entering into Lincolne's-Inn-Fields, at the end of Bell Yard, where strange the folly of men to lay and lose so much money, and very glad I was to see the manner of a gamester's life, which I see is very miserable, and poor, and unmanly. And thence he took me to a dancing schoole in Fleet Streete, where we saw a company of pretty girles dance, but I do not in myself like to have young girls exposed to so much vanity. So to the Wardrobe, where I found my Lady had agreed upon a lace for my wife at £6, which I seemed much glad of that it was no more, though in my mind I think it too much, and I pray God to keep me so to order myself, and my wife's expences, that no inconvenience in purse or honour follow this my prodigality.

17th. (Lord's day.) To our own church, and at noon, by invitation, Sir W. Pen dined with me, and I took Mrs Hester, my Lady Batten's kinswoman, to dinner from church with me, and we were very merry. To church ; and heard a simple fellow upon the praise of church musique, and exclaiming against men's wearing their hats on in the church. To church [again], but slept part of the sermon.

18th. At St Paul's, where I saw the quiristers in their surplices going to prayers, and a few idle people and boys to hear them, which is the first time I have seen them, and am sorry to see things done so out of order. To the Theatre to see *Philaster*, (which I never saw before) but I found it far short of my expectations.

22d. At noon with my wife, by appointment, to dinner at the Dolphin, where Sir W. Batten, and his lady and daughter Matt, and Captain Cook and his lady, a German lady, but a very great beauty, and we dined together, at the spending of some wagers

won and lost between him and I; and there we had the best musique and very good songs, and were very merry, and danced, but I was most of all taken with Madam Cook and her little boy, which in mirth his father had given to me. But after all our mirth comes a reckoning of £4, besides 4s. of the musicians, which did trouble us, but it must be paid, and so I took leave, and left them there about eight at night.

23d. To Cheapside, to one Savill, a painter, who I intend shall do my picture and my wife's.

24th. (Lord's day.) Up early, and by appointment to St Clement's Danes to church, and there to meet Captain Cook, who had often commended Mr Alsopp, their minister, to me, who is indeed an able man, but as to all things else did not come up to my expectation. His text was, that all good and perfect things are from above.

27th. To Savill's, the painter, and there sat the first time for my face with him: thence to dinner with my Lady; and so after an hour or two's talk in divinity with my Lady, Captain Ferrers, and Mr Moore and I, to the Theatre, and there saw *Hamlett* very well done.

30th. The old condemned judges of the late King have been brought before the Parliament, and like to be hanged. I am deep in Chancery with Tom Trice. God give a good issue. This is the last day for the old State coyne to pass in common payments, but they say it is to pass in publique payments to the King three months still.

December 1st. (Lord's day.) Mr Sanchy should have brought his mistress, Mrs Mary Archer, of Cambridge, but she could not come; but we had a good dinner for him. Cut a brave collar of brawne from Winchcombe, which proves very good, and also opened the glass of girkins which Captain Cocke did give my wife the other day, which are rare things. There hath lately been great clapping up of some old statesmen, such as Ireton, Moyer, and others, and they say, upon a great plot; but I believe no such thing; but it is but justice that they should be served as they served the poor Cavaliers; and I believe it will oftentimes be so, as long as they live, whether there be cause or no.

2d. Called on by Mr Sanchy and his mistress, and with them by coach to the Opera, to see *The Madd Lover*, but not much pleased with the play.

3d. To the paynter's, and sat and had more of my picture done, but it do not please me, for I fear it will not be like me.

4th. I saw a man lie dead upon Westminster Stairs that had been drowned yesterday.

7th. This morning comes Captain Ferrers and the German, Emanuel Luffe, who goes as one of my Lord's footmen, though he deserves a much better preferment, to take their leave of me, and here I got the German to play upon my theorbo. Within a quarter of an hour after they were gone, comes the German back again, all of a goare of blood, which I wondered at, and tells me that he is afraid that the Captain is killed by the watermen at Tower Stayres; so I presently went thither, and found that upon some rude pressing of the watermen to ply the Captain, he struck one of them with his cane, which they would not take, but struck him again, and then the German drew his sword, and run at one of them, but they were both soundly beaten. The Captain is, however, got to the hoy that carries him and the pages to the Downes, and I went into the alehouse at the Stayres, and got them to deliver the Captain's feathers, which one from the Captain was come to demand. Home again, and there found my wife dressing of the German's head, and so did [give] him a cravett for his neck, and a crowne in his purse, and sent him away again.

13th. With my wife to the painter's, and there she sat the first time to be drawn, while I all the while stood looking on a pretty lady's picture, whose face did please me extremely. At last, he having done, I found that the dead colour of my wife is good, above what I expected, which pleased me exceedingly.

23d. Lighting at my bookseller's [Kirton's], in St Paul's church-yard, I met there with Mr Cromlum, and the second master of Paul's School, and thence I took them to the Starr, and there we sat and talked, and I had great pleasure in their company, and very glad I was of meeting him so accidentally, I having omitted too long to go to see him. Here in discourse of books I did offer to give the schoole what booke he would choose of £5. So we parted.

25th. In the morning to church, where at the door of our pew I was fain to stay, because that the sexton had not opened the door. A good sermon of Mr Mills.

26th. After dinner, Sir William came to me, and he and his son and daughter, and I and my wife, by coach to Moor Fields to walk, but it was most foule weather, and so we went into an ale-

house, and there eat some cakes and ale, and a washeall and bowle woman and girl come to us, and sung to us.

27th. In the morning to my bookseller's, to bespeak a Stephens' *Thesaurus*, for which I offer £4, to give to Paul's School, and from thence to Paul's Church; and there I did hear Dr Gunning preach a good sermon upon the day, being St John's day, and did hear him tell a story, which he did persuade us to believe to be true, that St John and the Virgin Mary did appear to Gregory, a Bishopp, at his prayer to be confirmed in the faith, which I did wonder to hear from him.

31st. My wife and I this morning to the paynter's [Savill's], and there she sat the last time, and I stood by, and did tell him some little things to do, that now her picture I think will please me very well; and after her, her little black dogg sat in her lap, and was drawn, which made us very merry: so home to dinner. To the office; and there late finishing our estimate of the debts of the Navy to this day; and it come to near £374,000. So home, and after supper and my barber had trimmed me, I sat down to end my journell for this year, and my condition at this time, by God's blessing, is that my health is very good, and so my wife's, in all respects: my servants, W. Hewer, Sarah, Nell, and Wayne-man: my house at the Navy Office. I suppose myself to be worth about £500 clear in the world, and my goods of my house my owne, and what is coming to me from Brampton, when my father dies, which God defer. But, by my uncle's death, the whole care and trouble, and settling of all, lies upon me, which is very great, because of lawsuits, especially that with T. Trice, about the interest of £200, which will, I hope, be ended soon. My chiefest thoughts is now to get a good wife for Tom, there being one offered by the Joyces, a cousin of theirs, worth £200 in ready money. I am upon writing a little treatise to present to the Duke, about our privilege in the seas, as to other nations striking their flags to us. But my greatest trouble is, that I have for this last half year been a very great spendthrift in all manner of respects, that I am afraid to cast up my accounts, though I hope I am worth what I say above. But I will cast them up very shortly. I have newly taken a solemn oath about abstaining from plays and wine, which I am resolved to keep, according to the letter of the oath which I keep by me. The fleete hath been ready to sail for Portsmouth, but hath lacked wind this fortnight, and by that means my

Lord is forced to keep at sea all this winter, till he brings home the Queen, which is the expectation of all now, and the greatest matter of publique talk.

1661-62

January 1st. Waking this morning out of my sleep on a sudden, I did with my elbow hit my wife a great blow over her face and neck, which waked her with pain, at which I was sorry, and to sleep again. We went by coach to see the play of the *Spanish Curate*; and a good play it is, only Diego the Sexton did overdo his part too much.

3d. To Faithorne's, and there bought some pictures of him; and while I was there, comes by the King's life-guard, he being gone to Lincoln's Inne this afternoon to see the Revells there; there being, according to an old custome, a prince and all his nobles, and other matters of sport and charge.

4th. At home, hanging up pictures, and seeing how my pewter sconces that I have bought will become my stayres and entry. With Mr Chetwin, who had a dog challenged of him, by another man, that said it was his, but Mr Chetwin called the dog, and the dog at last would follow him, and not his old master.

5th. (Lord's day.) My brother Tom tells me how he hath seen the father and mother of the girle which my cozen Joyces would have him to have for a wife, and they are much for it, but we are in a great quandary what to do therein—£200 being but a little money; and I hope, if he continues as he begins, he may look for one with more. To church, and before sermon, there was a long psalm, and half another sung out, while the Sexton gathered what the church would give him for this last half year, I gave him 3s., and have the last week given the Clerke 2s., which I set down, that I may know what to do the next year, if it please the Lord that I live so long; but the jest was, the Clerk begins the 25th psalm, which hath a proper tune to it, and then the 116th, which cannot be sung with that tune, which seemed very ridiculous.

6th. To dinner to Sir W. Pen's, it being a solemn feast day with him—his wedding day, and we had, besides a good chine of beef and other good cheer, eighteen mince pies in a dish, the number of years that he hath been married.

8th. This night come about £100 from Brampton by carrier to me, in holsters from my father, which made me laugh.

10th. To White Hall, and there spoke with Sir Paule Neale, about a mathematical request of my Lord's to him, which I did deliver to him, and he promised to employ somebody to answer it—something about observation of the moone and stars, but what I did not mind. An injuncon is granted in Chancery against T. Trice, at which I was very glad, being before in some trouble for it. To meet my wife at Mrs Hunt's to gossip with her, which we did alone, and were very merry, and did give her a cup and spoon for my wife's god-child.

13th. Before twelve o'clock comes, by appointment, Mr Peter and the Dean, and Colonel Honiwood, brothers, to dine with me; but so soon, that I was troubled at it. Mr Peter did show us the experiment, which I had heard talke of, of the chymicall glasses, which break all to dust by breaking off a little small end; which is a great mystery to me. My aunt Wright and my wife and I to cards, she teaching of us to play at gleeke, which is a pretty game; but I have not my head so free as to be troubled with it.

14th. This day, my brave vellum covers to keep pictures in, come in, which pleases me very much.

15th. This morning, Mr Berkenshaw come again, and after he had examined me and taught me something in my work, he and I went to breakfast in my chamber upon a collar of brawn; and after we had eaten, asked me whether we had not committed a fault in eating to-day; telling me, that it is a fast-day ordered by the Parliament, to pray for more seasonable weather; it having hitherto been summer weather, that it is, both as to warmth and every other thing, just as if it were the middle of May or June, which do threaten a plague, as all men think, to follow, for so it was almost the last winter; and the whole year after hath been a very sickly time to this day.

21st. Home, to practice my composition of musique. We have heard nothing yet how far the fleet hath got toward Portugall.

23d. By invitacon to my uncle Fenner's, where I found his new wife, a pitiful, old, ugly, ill-bred woman, in a hatt. Here were many of his, and as many of her relations, sorry, mean people; and after choosing our gloves, we all went over to the Three Crane taverne, and, though the best room of the house, in such a narrow dogg-hole we were crammed, and I believe we were near forty, that

it made me loath my company and victuals; and a sorry, poor dinner it was too.

26th. (Lord's day.) Thanks be to God, since my leaving drinking of wine, I do find myself much better, and do mind my business better and do spend less money, and less time lost in idle company.

28th. With my wife to the paynter's, where we staid very late to have her picture mended, which at last is come to be very like her, and I think well done; but the paynter, though a very honest man, I found to be very silly as to matter of skill in shadowes.

30th. Fast-day for the murthering of the late King. I went to Church, and Mr Mills made a good sermon upon David's words, "Who can lay his hands upon the Lord's Anoynted and be guiltlesse?"

31st. All the morning in my cellar ordering some alteracons therein, being much pleased with my new doore into the back-yard.

[February] 2d. (Lord's day.) To church in the morning, and then home, and dined with my wife, and so both of us to church again, where we had an Oxford man give us a most impertinent sermon upon "Cast your bread upon the waters," &c.

3d. After musique-practice, I dined with Sir W. Batten with many friends more, it being his wedding-day, and among other froliques, it being their 3rd year, they had three pyes, whereof the middlemost was made of an ovall form in an ovall hole within the other two, which made much mirth, and was called the middle piece; and above all the rest, we had great striving to steal a spooneful out of it; and I remember Mrs Mills, the minister's wife, did steal one for me, and did give it me; and to end all, Mrs Shippman did fill the pie full of white wine, it holding at least a pint and a half, and did drink it off for a health to Sir William and my Lady—it being the greatest draught that ever I did see a woman drink in my life.

4th. To Westminster Hall, where it was full terme. Here all the morning, and at noon to my Lord Crewe's, where one Mr Templer, an ingenious man and a person of honour he seems to be, dined; and, discoursing of the nature of serpents, he told us some in the waste places of Lancashire do grow to a great bigness, and do feed upon larkes, which they take thus: They observe, when the lark is soared to the highest, and do crawl till they come to be just underneath them; and there they place themselves with

their mouth uppermost, and there, as is conceived, they do eject poyson upon the bird ; for the bird do suddenly come down again in its course of a circle, and falls directly into the mouth of the serpent ; which is very strange. He is a great traveller ; and, speaking of the tarantula, he says that all the harvest long, about which times they are most busy, there are fiddlers go up and down the fields every where, in expectation of being hired by those that are stung.

6th. After dinner, my barber trimmed me, and so to the office, where I do begin to be exact in my duty there, and exacting my privileges.

9th. (Lord's day.) I took physique this day, and was all day in my chamber, talking with my wife about her laying out of £20, which I had long since promised her to lay out in clothes against Easter for herself, and composing some ayres, God forgive me ! At night to prayers and to bed.

11th. At the office in the afternoon ; so home to musique : my mind being full of our alteracons in the garden. At night begun to compose songs, and begin with *Gaze not on swans*.

14th. (Valentine's day.) I did this day purposely shun to be seen at Sir W. Batten's, because I would not have his daughter to be my Valentine, as she was the last year, there being no great friendship between us now, as formerly. This morning in comes W. Bowyer, who was my wife's Valentine, she having, at which I made good sport to myself, held her hands all the morning, that she might not see the paynters that were at work in gilding my chimney-piece and pictures in my dining-room.

15th. With the two Sir Williams to the Trinity House. After dinner, I was sworn a Younger Brother, Sir W. Rider being Deputy-Master for my Lord of Sandwich ; and after I was sworn, all the Elder Brothers shake me by the hand ; it is their custom, it seems. No news yet of our fleet gone to Tangier, which we now begin to think long.

17th. This morning, both Sir Williams, myself, and Captain Cocke, and Captain Tinker of the *Convertine*, which we are going to look upon, (being intended [to go] with these ships fitting for the East Indys) down to Deptford ; and thence, after being on ship-board, to Woolwich, and there eat something. The Sir Williams being unwilling to eat flesh, Captain Cocke and I had a breast of veale roasted. Going and coming, we played at gleeke,

and I won 9s. 6d. clear, the most that ever I won in my life. I pray God it may not tempt me to play again.

18th. Having agreed with Sir W. Pen to meet him at the Opera, and finding by my walking in the streets, which were every where full of brick-battes and tyles flung down by the extraordinary winde the last night, such as hath not been in memory before, unless at the death of the late Protector, that it was dangerous to go out of doors; and hearing how several persons had been killed to-day by the fall of things in the streets, and that the pageant in Fleet Streete is most of it blown down, and hath broke down part of several houses, among others Dick Brigden's; and that one Lady Sanderson, a person of quality in Covent-Garden, was killed by the house, in her bed, last night; I sent my boy to forbid Sir W. Pen to go forth.

24th. Called Will up, and chid him before my wife, for refusing to go to church with the maids yesterday, and telling his mistress that he would not be made a slave of.

25th. Great talk of the effects of this late great wind; and I heard one say that he had five great trees standing together blown down; and beginning to lop them, one of them, as soon as the lops were cut off, did, by the weight of the root, rise again and fasten. We have letters from the forest of Deane, that above 1000 oakes and as many beeches are blown down in one walke there. And letters from my father tell me of £20 hurt done to us at Brampton.

27th. Come Mr Berkenshaw, and in our discourse we fell to angry words, so that in a pet he flung out of my chamber, and I never stopped him, being intended to put him off to-day, whether this had happened or no, because I think I have all the rules that he hath to give.

28th. The boy failing to call us up as I commanded, I was angry, and resolved to whip him for that, and many other faults, to-day. Early with Sir W. Pen by coach to White Hall, to the Duke of Yorke's chamber, and there I presented him from my Lord a fine map of Tangier, done by one Captain Beckman, a Swede, that is with my Lord. We staid looking it over a great while with the Duke after he was ready. I and Will get me a rod, and he and I called the boy up to one of the upper rooms of the Comptroller's house towards the garden, and there I reckoned all his faults, and whipped him soundly, but the rods was so small that

I fear they did not much hurt to him, but only to my arm, which I am already, within a quarter of an houre, not able to stir almost.

[March] 2d. (Lord's day.) Talking long in bed with my wife, about our frugall life for the time to come, proposing to her what I could and would do, if I were worth £2000, that is, be a knight, and keep my coach, which pleased her. To church in the morning: none in the pew but myself.

5th. To the pewterer's to buy a poore's box, to put my forfeites in, upon breach of my late vows. To my office, and there sat looking over my papers of my voyage, when we fetched over the King, and tore so many of these that were worth nothing, as filled my closet as high as my knees.

6th. This night my new camelott riding coate to my coloured cloth suit came home. More news to-day of our losses at Brampton by the late storm.

9th. (Lord's day.) Church in the morning: dined at home, then to church again, and heard Mr Naylor, whom I knew formerly of Keye's College, make a most eloquent sermon. To walk an houre with Sir W. Pen in the garden: then he into supper with me.

10th. At the office, doing business all the morning. Home and to bed, to-morrow being washing day.

13th. All day busy about business. Having lately followed my business much, I find great pleasure in it, and a growing content.

14th. Home to dinner. In the afternoon, come the German, Dr Knuffer, to discourse with us about his engine to blow up ships. We doubted not the matter of fact, it being tried in Cromwell's time, but the safety of carrying them in ships; but he do tell us, that when he comes to tell the King his secret, for none but the Kings, successively, and their heirs must know it, it will appear to be of no danger at all. We concluded nothing; but shall discourse with the Duke of York to-morrow about it.

15th. To the Exchange, to hire a ship for the Maderas. Troubled at my maid's being ill.

16th. (Lord's day.) This morning, till churches were done, I spent going from one church to another, and hearing a bit here and a bit there. Walked to White Hall; and an houre or two in the Parke, which is now very pleasant. Here the King and Duke come to see their fowle play. The Duke took very civil notice of

me. At Tom's, giving him my resolution about my boy's livery. Walking in the garden with Sir W. Pen : his son William is at home, not well. But all things, I fear, do not go well with them—they look discontentedly, but I know not what ails them.

[April] 4th. I was much troubled to-day, to see a dead man lie floating upon the waters, and had done (they say) these four days, and nobody takes him up to burry him, which is very barbarous.

7th. By water to White Hall, and thence to Westminster, and staid at the Parliament-door long to speak with Mr Coventry, which vexed me. Thence to the Lords' House, and stood within the House, while the Bishops and Lords did stay till the Chancellor's coming, and then we were put out ; and they to prayers. There comes a Bishop ; and while he was rigging himself, he bid his man listen at the door, whereabout in the prayers they were ; but the man told him something, but could not tell whereabouts it was in the prayers, nor the Bishop, neither, but laughed at the conceit ; so went in : but, God forgive me ! I did tell it by and by to people, and did say that the man said that they were about something of saving their souls, but could not tell whereabouts in the prayers that was. I sent in a note to my Lord Privy Seale, and he come out to me ; and I desired he would make another deputy for me, because of my great business of the Navy this month : but he told me he could not do it without the King's consent, which vexed me. The great talk is, that the Spaniards and the Hollanders do intend to set upon the Portuguese by sea, at Lisbone, as soon as our fleet is come away ; and by that means our fleet is not likely to come yet these two or three months ; which I hope is not true.

13th. (Lord's day.) In the morning to Paul's, where I heard a pretty good sermon, and thence to dinner with my Lady at the Wardrobe ; and after much talk with her, I went to the Temple Church, and there heard another : by the same tokens, a boy being asleep, fell down a high seat to the ground, ready to break his neck, but got no hurt.

19th. This morning, before we sat, I went to Aldgate ; and at the corner shop, a draper's, I stood, and did see Barkstead, Okey, and Corbet, drawne towards the gallows at Tiburne ; and there they were hanged and quartered. They all looked very cheerful ; but I hear they all die defending what they did to the King to be

just, which is very strange. In the evening did get a bever, an old one, but a very good one, of Sir W. Batten, for which I must give him something; but I am very well pleased with it.

21st. At noon dined with my Lord Crewe; and after dinner went up to Sir Thomas Crewe's chamber, who is still ill. He tells me how my Lady Duchess of Richmond and Castlemaine had a falling out the other day; and she calls the latter Jane Shore, and did hope to see her come to the same end. Coming down again to my Lord, he told me that news was come that the Queen is landed; at which I took leave, and by coach hurried to White Hall, the bells ringing in several places; but I found there no such matter, nor anything like it.

26th. Sir George and I, and his clerk, Mr Stephens, and Mr Holt, our guide, over to Gosport; and so rode to Southampton. In our way, besides my Lord Southampton's parks and lands, which in one view we could see £6000 per annum, we observed a little churchyard, where the graves are accustomed to be all sowed with sage. At Southampton, we went to the Mayor's, and there dined, and had sturgeon of their own catching the last week, which do not happen in twenty years, and it was well ordered. They brought also some caveare, which I attempted to order, but all to no purpose, for they had neither given it salt enough, nor are the seedes of the roe broke, but are all in berryes. After dinner, to horse again, being in nothing troubled but the badness of my hat, which I borrowed to save my beaver.

30th. After dinner comes Mr Stephenson, one of the burgesses of the towne, to tell me that the Mayor and burgesses did desire my acceptance of a burgess-ship, and were ready at the Mayor's to make me one. So I went, and there they were all ready, and did with much civility give me my oath, and after the oath, did by custom shake me all by the hand: so I took them to a tavern, and made them drink, and paying the reckoning, went away. It cost me a piece in gold to the Town Clerke, and 10s. to the Bayliffes, and spent 5s.

[May] 3d. To the Duke's chamber, who had been a-hunting this morning, and is come back again. To dinner to my Lady Sandwich; and Sir Thomas Crewe's children coming thither, I took them and all my Ladys to the Tower, and showed them the lions, and all that was to be shown; Sir Thomas Crewe's children being as pretty, and the best behaved that ever I saw of their age.

Thence, at the goldsmith's, took my picture in little, which is now done, home with me, and pleases me exceedingly, and my wife.

4th. Mr Holliard come to me, and let me blood, about sixteen ounces, I being exceeding full of blood, and very good. I begun to be sick; but, lying upon my back, I was presently well again, and did give him 5s. for his pains. After dinner, my arm tied up with a black ribbon, I walked with my wife to my brother Tom's; our boy waiting on us with his sword, which this day he begins to wear, to outdo Sir W. Pen's boy, who this day, and Sir W. Batten's, do begin to wear new liverys; but I do take mine to be the neatest of them all. I led my wife to Mrs Turner's pew, the church being full, it being to hear a Doctor who is to preach a probacon sermon. When Church was done, my wife and I walked to Graye's Inne, to observe fashions of the ladies, because of my wife's making some clothes.

5th. My arme not being well, my wife to buy some things for herself, and a gowne for me to dress myself in.

6th. Got my seat set up on the leads, which pleases me well.

14th. Dined at the Wardrobe; and after dinner, sat talking an hour or two alone with my Lady. To my brother's, and, finding him in a lie about the lining of my new morning gowne, saying that it was the same with the outside, I was very angry with him, and parted so.

15th. To Westminster. At night, all the bells of the towne rung, and bonfires were made for the joy of the Queen's arrival, who landed at Portsmouth last night. But I do not see much true joy, but only an indifferent one, in the hearts of people, who are much discontented at the pride and luxury of the Court, and running in debt.

19th. Up, and put on my riding-cloth suit and a camelott coat new, which pleases me well enough—the shops being but some shut and some open. I hear that the House of Commons do think much that they should be forced to huddle over business this morning against afternoon, for the King to pass their Acts, that he may go out of towne. But he, I hear since, was forced to stay till almost nine o'clock at night before he could have done, and then prorogued them; and so to Gilford, and lay there. My wife walking and singing upon the leades till very late, it being pleasant and moonshine, and so to bed.

25th. (Lord's day.) To trimming myself, which I have this

week done every morning, with a pumice stone, which I learnt of Mr March, when I was last at Portsmouth; and I find it very easy, speedy, and cleanly, and shall continue the practice of it.

29th. At home all the morning. At noon to the Wardrobe, and dined with my Lady, and, after dinner, staid long talking with her; then homeward, and, in Lumbard Streete, was called out of a window by Alderman Backwell, where I went, and saluted his lady, a very pretty woman. Here was Mr Creed, and it seems they have been under some disorder in feare of a fire at the next door, and had been removing their goods, but the fear was over before I come. Thence home, and with my wife and the two maids and the boy took boat and to Fox-hall, where I had not been a great while. To the old Spring Garden, and there walked long, and the wenches gathered pinks. Here we staid, and seeing that we could not have any thing to eate but very dear, and with long stay, we went forth again without any notice taken of us, and so we might have done if we had had anything. Thence to the New one, where I never was before, which much exceeds the other; and here we also walked, and the boy crept through the hedge, and gathered abundance of roses, and after a long walk, passed out of doors as we did in the other place, and so to another house that was an ordinary house, and here we had cakes and powdered beef and ale, and so home again by water, with much pleasure. This day, being the King's birth-day was very solemnly observed; and the more, for that the Queen this day comes to Hampton Court. In the evening, bonfires were made, but nothing to the great number that was heretofore at the burning of the Rump.

[June] 3d. Home and to bed, my mind troubled about the charge of money that is in my house, which I had forgot, but I made the maids to rise and light a candle, and set it in the dining-room, to scare away thieves.

4th. Povy and Sir W. Batten and I by water to Woolwich; and there saw an experiment made of Sir R. Forde's Holland's yarne, about which we have lately had so much stir; and I have much concerned myself for our rope-maker, Mr Hughes, who represented it so bad, and we found it to be very bad, and broke sooner than, upon a fair triall, five threads of that against four of Riga yarne; and also that some of it had old stuffe that had been tarred, covered over with new hempe, which is such a cheat as hath not been heard of. I was glad of this discovery, because I

would not have the King's workmen discouraged (as Sir W. Batten do most basely do) from representing the faults of merchants' goods, when there is any. To my Lord's, who I find resolved to buy Brampton Manor of Sir Peter Ball, at which I am glad.

5th. To Alderman Backwell's, to see some thousands of my Lord's crusados weighed, and we find that 3000 comes to about £530 or 40 generally.

6th. The smith being with me did open a chest, that hath stood ever since I come, in my office, and there we found a modell of a fine ship.

8th. (Lord's day.) To church, and there Mr Mills preached but a lazy sermon. Walked to my Lady's, and merry with the parrott which my Lord hath brought from sea, which speaks very well, and cries Pall so pleasantly, that made my Lord give it my Lady Paulina, but my Lady her mother do not like it. Home, and observe my man Will to walk with his cloak flung over his shoulder, which, whether it was that he might not be seen to walk along with the footboy I know not, but I was vexed at it; and coming home, and after prayers, I did ask him where he learned that immodest garb; and he answered me, that it was not immodest, or some such slight answer, at which I did give him two boxes on the eares, which I never did before.

9th. At the office with Mr Hater, making my alphabet of contracts. Greatorex recommended Bond of our end of the towne to teach me to measure timber.

10th. All the morning much business; and great hopes of bringing things, by Mr Coventry's means, to a good condition in the office.

11th. Savill the painter come, and did varnish over my wife's picture and mine, and I paid him for my little picture £3, and so am clear with him.

13th. Up by 4 o'clock in the morning, and read Cicero's Second Oration against Catiline, which pleased me exceedingly; and more I discern therein than ever I thought was to be found in him; but I perceive it was my ignorance, and that he is as good a writer as ever I read in my life.

22d. (Lord's day.) I first put on my slasht doublet. By and by my Lord come from church, and I dined, with some others, with him—he very merry; and after dinner took me aside, and talked of state and other matters. Coming home to-night, I met

with Will. Swan, who do talk as high for the Fanatiques as ever he did in his life; and do pity my Lord Sandwich and me, that we should be given up to the wickedness of the world; and that a fall is coming upon us all; for he finds that he and his company are the true spirit of the nation, and the greater part of the nation too, who will have liberty of conscience in spite of this "Act of Uniformity," or they will die; and if they may not preach abroad, they will preach in their own houses. He told me that certainly Sir H. Vane must be gone to Heaven, for he died as much a martyr and saint as ever man did; and that the King hath lost more by that man's death, than he will get again a good while. At all which I know not what to think; but, I confess, I do think that the Bishops will never be able to carry it so high as they do.

27th. Comes Sir J. Minnes, and some Captains with him, who had been at a Councill of Warr to-day, who tell us they have acquitted Captain Hall, who was accused of cowardice in letting of old Winter, the Algiers pyrate, go away from him with a prize or two; and also Captain Diamond of the murder laid to him of a man that he had struck, but he lived many months after, till being drunk, he fell into the hold, and there broke his jawe and died.

29th. (Lord's day.) Up by four o'clock, and to the settling of my own accounts; and I do find upon my monthly ballance that I am worth £650. To church with my wife, who this day put on her green petticoate of flowred sattin, with fine white and black gimp lace of her own putting on, which is very pretty. To supper to Sir W. Pen. It was an invitation in order to his taking leave of us to-day, he being to go for Ireland in a few days.

30th. To my office, where I fell upon boring holes for me to see from my closet into the great office, without going forth, wherein I please myself much. Told my Lady [Carteret] how my Lady Fanshaw is fallen out with her only for speaking in behalf of the French, which my Lady wonders at, they having been formerly like sisters. Thence to my house, where I took great pride to lead her through the Court by the hand, she being very fine, and her page carrying up her train, she staying a little at my house, and then walked through the garden, and took water, and went first on board the King's pleasure-boat, which pleased her much. Then to Greenwich Parke; and with much ado she was able to walk up to the top of the hill, and so down again, and

took boat, and so through bridge to Blackfryers, and home, she being much pleased with the ramble in every particular of it. So we supped with her, and then walked home, and to bed.

OBSERVATIONS

This I take to be as bad a juncture as ever I observed. The King and his new Queen minding their pleasures at Hampton Court. All people discontented; some that the King do not gratify them enough; and the others, Fanatiques of all sorts, that the King do take away their liberty of conscience; and the height of the Bishops, who I fear will ruin all again. Much clamour against the chimney-money; and the people say, they will not pay it without force. And in the mean time, like to have war abroad; and Portugall to assist, when we have not money to pay for any ordinary layings-out at home. All in dirt about building of my house, and Sir W. Batten's, a story higher. Into a good way, fallen on minding my business and saving money, which God encrease; and I do take great delight in it, and see the benefit of it. In a longing mind of going to see Brampton, but cannot get three days time, do what I can. In very good health, my wife and myself.

July 1st. Talking with my wife, who was afraid I did intend to go with my Lord to fetch the Queen hither over, in which I did clear her doubts. I went to bed by daylight, in order to my rising early.

3d. Dined with the officers of the Ordnance; where Sir W. Compton, Mr O'Neal, and other great persons were. After dinner, was brought to Sir W. Compton a gun to discharge seven times; the best of all devices that ever I saw, and very serviceable, and not a bawble; for it is much approved of, and many thereof made.

4th. Up by five o'clock, and after my journall put in order, to my office about my business, which I am resolved to follow. Comes Mr Cooper, mate of the *Royall Charles*, of whom I intend to learn mathematiques, and do begin with him to-day, he being a very able man, and no great matter, I suppose, will content him. After an houre's being with him at arithmetique, my first attempt being to learn the multiplication-table: then we parted till to-morrow.

7th. Comes Mr Cooper : so he and I to our mathematiques.

9th. Up by four o'clock, and at my multiplicacion-table hard, which is all the trouble I meet with at all in my arithmetique. Sir W. Pen come to my office to take his leave of me, and, desiring a turn in the garden, did commit the care of his building to me, and offered all his services to me in all matters of mine. I did, God forgive me ! promise him all my service and love, though the rogue knows he deserves none from me, nor do I intend to show him any ; but as he dissembles with me, so must I with him. Come Mr Mills, the minister, to see me, which he hath rarely done to me, though every day almost to others of us, but he is a cunning fellow, and knows where the good victuals is, and the good drink, at Sir W. Batten's. However, I used him civilly, though I love him as I do the rest of his coat.

11th. Up by four o'clock, and hard at my multiplicacion-table, which I am now almost master of.

12th. Put things in order to be laid up, against my workmen come on Monday, to take down the top of my house. At night with Cooper at arithmetique.

15th. About bed-time, it fell a-raining, and the house being all open at top, it vexed me, but there was no help for it.

18th. It comes into my head to have my dining-[room] waincoated, which will be very pretty. Comes Cooper for my mathematiques, but, in good earnest, my head is so full of business, that I cannot understand it as otherwise I should do.

19th. In the afternoon I went upon the river : it raining hard upon the water, I put ashore and sheltered myself, while the King come by in his barge, going down towards the Downes to meet the Queen : the Duke being gone yesterday. But methought it lessened my esteem of a king, that he should not be able to command the rain.

21st. Up early. I did take boat and down to Greenwich, to Captain Cocke's, who hath a most pleasant seat, and neat. Here I drank wine, and eat some fruit off the trees ; and he showed a great rarity, which was, two or three of a great number of silver dishes and plates, which he bought of an ambassador that did lack money, in the edges and basins of which was placed silver and gold medalls very ancient. To Woolwich to the Rope-yard ; and there looked over several sorts of hemp, and did fall upon my great survey of seeing the working and experiments of the strength and the

charge in the dressing of every sort ; and I do think have brought it to so great a certainty, as I have done the King some service in it : and do purpose to get it ready against the Duke's coming to town to present to him. I see it is impossible for the King to have things done as cheap as other men.

23d. A little vexed that my brother Tom, by his neglect, do fail to get a coach for my wife and maid this week, by which she will not be at Brampton feast, to meet my Lady at my father's. Much disturbed, by reason of the talk up and downe the towne, that my Lord Sandwich is lost ; but I trust in God the contrary.

24th. I hear, to my great content, that my Lord Sandwich is safe landed in France.

27th. (Lord's day.) I to walk in the Parke, which is now every day more and more pleasant, by the new works upon it.

28th. Up early, and by six o'clock, after my wife was ready, I walked with her to the George at Holborne Conduit, where the coach stood to carry her and her maid to Bugden : so I took a troubled though willing good bye, because of the sad condition of my house, to have a family in it. Walked to the water-side, and there took boat for the Tower ; hearing that the Queen-Mother is come this morning already as high as Woolwich : and that my Lord Sandwich was with her ; at which my heart was glad.

30th. To Woolwich, expecting to find Sir W. Batten there upon his survey, but he is not come, and so we got a dish of steaks at the White Hart, while his clarkes and others were feasting of it in the best room of the house, and after dinner playing at shuffle-board. God help the King ! What surveys shall be taken after this manner !

[August] 8th. At five, by water to Woolwich, there to see the manner of tarring, and the several proceedings of making of cordage, and other things relating to that sort of works, much to my satisfaction. Dined with Mr Falconer ; thence we walked, talking all the way to Greenwich, and I do find excellent discourse from him. Thence by boat : being hot, he [Mr Falconer] put the skirt of his cloak about me ; and, it being rough, he told me the passage of a Frenchman through London Bridge, where, when he saw the great fall, he begun to cross himself, and say his prayers in the greatest fear in the world ; and soon as he was over, he swore, " Morbleu ! c'est le plus grand plaisir du monde," being the most like a French humour in the world. To Deptford,

and there surprised the Yard, and called them to a muster, and discovered many abuses.

21st. To Mr Rawlinson's, where my uncle Wight and my aunt, and some neighbour couples, were at a very good venison pasty. Hither come, after we were set down, a most pretty young lady, only her hands were not white nor handsome, which pleased me well, and I found her to be sister to Mrs Anne Wight. We were good company, and had a very pretty dinner.

22d. About three o'clock this morning, I waked with the noise of the rayne, having never in my life heard a more violent shower ; and then the catt was lockt in the chamber, and kept a great mewling, and leapt upon the bed, which made me I could not sleep a great while. Sent for Mr Creed, and then to his lodging, at Clerke's, the confectioner's, where he did give me a little banquet, and I had liked to have begged a parrot for my wife, but he hath put me in a way to get a better from Steventon at Portsmouth.

[September] 5th. By water to Woolwich ; in my way saw the yacht lately built by our Virtuosoës (my Lord Brouncker and others, with the help of Commissioner Pett also,) set out from Greenwich with the little Dutch bezan, to try for mastery ; and before they go to Woolwich, the Dutch beat them half-a-mile ; and I hear this afternoon, that, in coming home, it got above three miles ; which all our people are glad of. To Mr Bland's, the merchant, by invitation ; where I found all the officers of the Customs, very grave fine gentlemen. And among other discourse, some was of Sir Jerome Bowes, Embassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor of Russia ; who, because some of the noblemen there would go up-stairs to the Emperor before him, he would not go up till the Emperor had ordered those two men to be dragged down-stairs, with their heads knocking upon every stair till they were killed. And when he was come up, they demanded his sword of him before he entered the room. He told them, if they would have his sword, they should have his boots too. And so caused his boots to be pulled off, and his night-gown and night-cap and slippers to be sent for ; and made the Emperor stay till he could go in his night-dress, since he might not go as a soldier. And lastly, when the Emperor in contempt, to show his command of his subjects, did command one to leap from the window down, and broke his neck in the sight of our Embassador, he replied that

his mistress did set more by, and did make better use of the necks of her subjects : but said that, to show what her subjects would do for her, he would, and did, fling down his gantlett before the Emperor ; and challenged all the nobility there to take it up, in defence of the Emperor against his Queen : for which, at this very day, the name of Sir Jerome Bowes is famous and honoured there. I this day heard that Mr Martin Noel is knighted by the King, which I much wonder at ; but yet he is certainly a very useful man.

6th. To the Trinity House, where we had at dinner a couple of venison pasties, of which I eat but little, being almost cloyed, having been at five pasties in three days.

29th. (Michaelmas day.) This day my oaths for drinking of wine and going to plays are out ; and so I do resolve to take a liberty to-day, and then to fall to them again. To Mr Coventry's, and so with him and Sir W. Pen up to the Duke, where the King come also, and staid till the Duke was ready. It being Collar-day, we had no time to talk with him about any business. To the King's Theatre, where we saw *Midsummer's Night's Dream*, which I had never seen before, nor shall ever again, for it is the most insipid, ridiculous play that ever I saw in my life. Home, where I find Mr Deane, of Woolwich, hath sent me the modell he had promised me ; but it so far exceeds my expectation, that I am sorry almost he should make such a present to no greater a person, but I am exceedingly glad of it, and shall study to do him a courtesy for it.

[October] 5th. (Lord's day.) I to church ; and this day the parson has got one to read with a surplice on. I suppose himself will take it up hereafter, for a cunning fellow he is as any of his coate.

6th. To White Hall with Mr Coventry, and so to my Lord Sandwich's lodgings ; but my Lord not within, being at a ball this night with the King at my Lady Castlemaine's, at next door.

7th. To my Lord's, and there I left money for Captain Ferrers to buy me two bands.

8th. To my Lord Sandwich's, and among other things, to my extraordinary joy, he did tell me how much I was beholding to the Duke of York, who did yesterday of his own accord tell him that he did thank him for one person brought into the Navy, naming myself, and much more to my commendation, which is the greatest comfort and encouragement that ever I

had in my life, and do owe it all to Mr Coventry's goodness and ingenuity.

9th. Up early to get me ready for my journey. To the office ; and I bid them adieu for a week, having the Duke's leave got me by Mr Coventry, to whom I did give thanks for my news yesterday of the Duke's words to my Lord Sandwich concerning me, which he took well ; and do tell me so freely his love and value of me, that my mind is now in as great a state of quiet, as to my interest in the office, as I could ever wish to be. Between one and two o'clock got on horseback at our back gate, with my man Will with me, both well mounted on two grey horses. We got to Ware before night ; and so I resolved to ride on to Puckeridge, which we did, though the way was bad, and the evening dark before we got thither, by help of company riding before us ; among others, a gentleman that took up at the same inn, his name Mr Brian, with whom I supped, and was very good company, and a scholar.

10th. Up, and between eight and nine mounted again ; but my feet so swelled with yesterday's pain, that I could not get on my boots, which vexed me to the blood, but was forced to pay 4s. for a pair of old shoes of my landlord's, and so rid in shoes to Cambridge.

15th. Waked very early ; and when it was time, did call up Will, and we rose, and musique (with a bandore for the base) did give me a legett ; and so we got ready ; and while breakefast was providing, showed Mr Cooke King's College Chapel, Trinity College, and St John's College Library ; and that being done, to our inn again ; where I met Dr Fairbrother. He told us how the room we were in was the room where Cromwell and his associated officers did begin to plot and act their mischiefs in these counties. Took leave of all, and begun our journey about nine o'clock, the roads being every where but bad ; but, finding our horses in good case, we even made shift to reach London, though both of us very weary. Found all things well, there happening nothing, since our going to my discontent, in the least degree ; which do also please me, that I cannot but bless God for my journey, observing a whole course of succeſse from the beginning to the end of it.

16th. I rose in good temper, finding a good chimney-piece made in my upper dining-room chamber, and the dining-room wainscoate in a good forwardness.

24th. Dined with my wife upon a most excellent dish of tripes of my own directing, covered with mustard, as I have heretofore see them done at my Lord Crewe's, of which I made a very great meal, and sent for a glass of wine for myself. Mr Pierce, the chyrurgeon, tells me how ill things go at Court: that the King do show no countenance to any that belong to the Queen; but though she hath spirit enough, yet seeing that she do no good by taking notice of it, for the present she forbears it in policy; of which I am very glad. But I do pray God keep us in peace: for this, with other things, do give great discontent to all people.

26th. (Lord's day.) Put on my new scallop, which is very fine. After supper, making up my monthly account to myself. I find myself, by my expense in bands and clothes this month, abated a little of my last, and that I am worth £679 still; for which God be praised.

31st. Thus ends this month: my head troubled with much business. I thank God I have no crosses, but only much business to trouble my mind with. In all other things, as happy a man as any in the world, for the whole world seems to smile upon me, and if my house were done that I could diligently follow my business, I would not doubt to do God, and the King, and myself good service. And all I do impute almost wholly to my late temperance, since my making of my vowes against wine and plays, which keeps me most happily and contentfully to my business; which God continue!

[November] 2d. Talking with my wife, in whom I never had greater content, blessed be God! than now—she continuing with the same care and thrift and innocence, so long as I keep her from occasions of being otherwise, as ever she was in her life, and keeps the house as well. To church, where Mr Mills preached a very ordinary sermon.

17th. To the Duke's to-day, but he is gone a-hunting. After dinner, talking with my wife, and making Mrs Gosnell sing; and then, there being no coach to be got, by water to White Hall; but Gosnell, not being willing to go through bridge, we were forced to land and take water again, and put her and her sister ashore at the Temple. I am mightily pleased with her humour and singing. At White Hall by appointment; Mr Creed carried my wife and I to the Cockpitt, and we had excellent places, and saw the King, Queen, Duke of Monmouth, his son, and my Lady

Castlemaine, and all the fine ladies; and *The Scornfull Lady* well performed. They had done by eleven o'clock; and, it being fine moonshine, we took coach and home, but could wake nobody at my house, and so were fain to have my boy get through one of the windows, and so opened the door, and called up the maids, and went to supper.

25th. Great talk among people how some of the Fanatiques do say that the end of the world is at hand, and that next Tuesday is to be the day. Against which, whenever it shall be, good God fit us all.

27th. At my waking, I found the tops of the houses covered with snow, which is a rare sight, which I have not seen these three years. To the office, where we sat till noon; when we all went to the next house upon Tower Hill to see the coming by of the Russia Ambassador; for whose reception all the City trained bands do attend in the streets, and the King's lifeguards, and most of the wealthy citizens in their black velvet coats, and gold chains, which remain of their gallantry at the King's coming in, but they staid so long that we went down again to dinner. And after I had dined, I walked to the Conduit in the Quarrefowr, at the end of Gracious Street and Cornhill; and there, the spouts thereof running very near me upon all the people that were under it, I saw them pretty well go by. I could not see the Ambassador in his coach; but his attendants in their habits and fur caps very handsome, comely men, and most of them with hawkes upon their fists to present to the King. But, Lord! to see the absurd nature of Englishmen that cannot forbear laughing and jeering at every thing that looks strange.

30th. (Lord's day.) This day I first did wear a muffle, being my wife's last year's muffle; and now I have bought her a new one, this serves me very well. Thus ends this month; in great frost: myself and family all well, but my mind much disordered about my uncle's law business, being now in an order of being arbitrated between us, which I wish to God it were done. I am also somewhat uncertain what to think of my going about to take a woman-servant into my house, in the quality of a woman for my wife. My wife promises it shall cost me nothing but her meat and wages, and that it shall not be attended with any other expences, upon which termes I admit of it; for that it will, I hope, save me money in having my wife go abroad on visits and other delights; so that

I hope the best, but am resolved to alter it if matters prove otherwise than I would have them. Publick matters in an ill condition of discontent against the height and vanity of the Court, and their bad payments.

[December] 8th. Into the Parke, to see them slide with their scates, which is very pretty.

12th. When I wake, I find a very great thaw, and my house overflowed with it, which vexed me.

18th. Mr Coventry inviting himself to my house to dinner, of which I was proud; but my dinner being a legg of mutton and two capons, they were not done enough, which did vex me; but we made shift to please him, I think; but I, when he was gone, very angry with my wife and people.

19th. Up and by appointment with Mr Lee, Wade, Evett, and workmen, to the Tower, and with the Lieutenant's leave set them to work in the garden, in the corner against the mayne-guard, a most unlikely place. It being cold, Mr Lee and I did sit all the day till three o'clock by the fire in the Governor's house; I reading a play of Fletcher's, being *A Wife for a Month*, wherein no great wit or language. We went to them at work, and having wrought below the bottom of the foundation of the wall, I bid them give over, and so all our hopes ended. Home, a little displeased with my wife, who, poor wretch, is troubled with her lonely life, which I know not how, without great charge, to help as yet, but I will study how to do it.

23d. To make up my accounts, and find that my ordinary housekeeping comes to £7 a month, which is a great deal. Dr Pierce tells me what the world says of me, "that Mr Coventry and I do all the business of the office almost": at which I am highly proud.

31st. Thus ends this year, with great mirth to me and my wife. Our condition being thus: we are at present spending a night or two at my Lord's lodgings at White Hall. Our home at the Navy Office, which is and hath a pretty while been in good condition, finished and made very convenient. By my last year's diligence in my office, blessed be God! I am come to a good degree of knowledge therein; and am acknowledged so by all the world, even the Duke himself, to whom I have a good access: and by that, and by my being Commissioner for Tangier, he takes much notice of me; and I doubt not but, by the continuance of the same en-

deavours, I shall in a little time come to be a man much taken notice of in the world. Publick matters stand thus: The King is bringing, it is said, his family, and Navy, and all other his charges, to a less expence. In the mean time, himself following his pleasures more than with good advice he would do; at least, to be seen to all the world to do so. For the good condition of myself, wife, family, and estate, in the great degree that it is, and for the public state of the nation, so quiet as it is, the Lord God be praised!

1662-63

January 1st. To White Hall, where I spent a little time walking among the courtiers, which I perceive I shall be able to do with great confidence, being now beginning to be pretty well known among them.

2d. To see Sir W. Pen, who is fallen sick again. I staid a while talking to him, and so to my office, practising arithmetique.

4th. (Lord's day.) Up and to church, where a lazy sermon. My wife did propound my having of my sister Pall again to be her woman, since one we must have, it being a very great trouble to me that I should have a sister of so ill a nature, that I must be forced to spend money upon a stranger, when it might better be upon her, if she were good for anything.

6th. (Twelfth day.) Into St Paul's church, and there finding Elborough, my old schoolfellow at Paul's, now a parson, whom I know to be a silly fellow, he tells me, and so do others, that Dr Calamy is this day sent to Newgate for preaching, Sunday was sennight, without leave, though he did it only to supply the place; otherwise the people must have gone away without ever a sermon, they being disappointed of a minister: but the Bishop of London will not take that as an excuse. Thence into Wood Street, and there bought a fine table for my dining-roome, cost me 50s.; and while we were buying it, there was a scare-fire in an ally over against us, but they quenched it. To the Duke's house, and there saw *Twelfth-Night* acted well, though it be but a silly play, and not relating at all to the name or day. Home, and found all well, only myself somewhat vexed at my wife's neglect in leaving of her scarfe, waistcoate, and night-dressings in the coach to-day, that brought us from Westminster; though, I confess, she did give them to me to look after. It might be as good as 25s. loss.

9th. My wife begun to speak again of the necessity of our keeping somebody to bear her company; for her familiarity with the other servants is it that spoils them all, and other company she hath none, which is too true. Comes Major Tolhurst, one of my old acquaintance in Cromwell's time, and sometimes of our clubb, to see me, and I could do no less than carry him to the Mitre, Tolhurst telling me the manner of their collierys in the North.

12th. To the King's Head ordinary, but people being set down, we went to two or three places; at last found some meat at a Welch cook's at Charing Crosse, and here dined and our boys. Mine had struck down Creed's boy in the dirt, with his new suit on, and the boy taken by a gentlewoman into a house to make clean, but the poor boy was in a pitiful taking and pickle, but I basted my rogue soundly. So home, and found my wife's new gown come home, and she mightily pleased with it.

13th. My poor wife rose by five o'clock in the morning, before day, and went to market and bought fowles and many other things for dinner, with which I was highly pleased, and the chine of beef was down also before six o'clock, and my own jacke, of which I was doubtfull, do carry it very well, things being put in order, and the cook come. By and by comes Dr Clerke and his lady, his sister, and a she-cosen, and Mr Pierce and his wife, which was all my guests. I had for them, after oysters, at first course, a hash of rabbits and lamb, and a rare chine of beef. Next, a great dish of roasted fowle, cost me about 30s., and a tart, and then fruit and cheese. My dinner was noble, and enough. I had my house mighty clean and neat; my room below with a good fire in it; my dining-room above, and my chamber being made a withdrawing-chamber; and my wife's a good fire, also. I find my new table very proper, and will hold nine or ten people well, but eight with great room. At supper, had a good sack posset and cold meat, and sent my guests away about ten o'clock at night, both them and myself highly pleased with our management of this day; and indeed their company was very fine, and Mrs Clerke a very witty, fine lady, though a little conceited and proud. I believe this day's feast will cost me near £5.

21st. Dined at Mr Ackworth's, where a pretty dinner, and she a pretty, modest woman; but, above all things, we saw her Rocke, which is one of the finest things done by a woman that ever I saw. I must have my wife to see it. On board the *Elias*, and found the

timber brought by her from the forest of Deane to be exceeding good.

22d. Mr Dixon come to dine with me, to give me an account of his success with Mr Wheatly, for his daughter for my brother ; and in short is, that his daughter cannot fancy my brother, because of his imperfection in his speech, which I am sorry for, but there the business must die.

27th. I have news this day from Cambridge that my brother hath had his bachelor's cap put on ; but that which troubles me is, that he hath the pain of the stone, it beginning just as mine did. I pray God help him.

28th. My wife come home, and seeming to cry ; for, bringing home in a coach her new ferrandin waistecoate, in Cheapside, a man asked her whether that was the way to the Tower ; and, while she was answering him, another, on the other side, snatched away her bundle out of her lap, and could not be recovered, but ran away with it, which vexes me cruelly, but it cannot be helped.

30th. A solemn fast for the King's murther, and we were forced to keep it more than we would have done, having forgot to take any victuals into the house.

31st. In the evening examining my wife's letter, intended to my Lady, and another to Mademoiselle, they were so false spelt, that I was ashamed of them.

[February] 4th. To Paul's Schoole, it being Opposition-day there. I heard some of their speeches, and they were just as school-boys used to be, of the seven liberal sciences ; but I think not so good as our's were in our time. Thence to Bow Church, and back again to Paul's School, and went up to see the head forms posed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew ; but I think they do not answer in any so well as we did, only in geography they did pretty well. So down to the school, where Mr Crumlum did me much honour by telling many what a present I had made to the school, shewing my Stephanus in four volumes. He also shewed us upon my desire an old edition of the grammer of Colett's, where his epistle to the children is very pretty ; and in rehearsing the creed it is said " borne of the cleane Virgin Mary."

5th. To dinner, and found it so well done, above what I did expect from my maid Susan, now Jane is gone, that I did call her in, and give her sixpence.

6th. To Lincoln's Inn Fields ; and it being too soon to go to

dinner, I walked up and down, and looked upon the outside of the new theatre building in Covent Garden, which will be very fine. And so to a bookseller's in the Strand, and there bought *Hudibras* again, it being certainly some ill humour to be so against that which all the world cries up to be the example of wit; for which I am resolved once more to read him, and see whether I can find it or no.

15th. (Lord's day.) Talking long with my wife, and teaching her things in astronomy.

18th. Mr Hater and I alone at the office, finishing our account of the extra charge of the Navy, not properly belonging to the Navy, since the King's coming in to Christmas last; and, all extra things being abated, I find that the true charge of the Navy to that time hath been after the rate of £374,743 a-year. I made an end by eleven o'clock at night. This day the Parliament met again, after their long prorogation; but I know not any thing what they have done, being within doors all day.

19th. My eyes begin to fail me, lying so long by candle-light upon white paper. This day I read the King's speech to the Parliament yesterday, which is very short, and not very obliging; but only telling them his desire to have a power of indulging tender consciences, and that he will yield to have any mixture in the uniformity of the Church's discipline; and says the same for the Papists, but declares against their ever being admitted to have any offices or places of trust in the kingdom; but, God knows, too many have.

[March] 3d. (Shrove Tuesday.) At noon, by promise, Mrs Turner and her daughter, and Mrs Morrice, come along with Roger Pepys to dinner. We were as merry as I could be, having but a bad dinner for them; but so much the better, because of the dinner which I must have at the end of this month. And here Mrs The. showed me my name upon her breast as her Valentine, which will cost me 20s. After dinner, I took them down into the wine-cellar, and broached my tierce of claret for them. This afternoon, Roger Pepys tells me, that for certain the King is for all this very highly incensed at the Parliament's late opposing the Indulgence; which I am sorry for, and fear it will breed great discontent.

5th. To the Lobby, and spoke with my cousin Roger, who is going to Cambridge to-morrow. In the Hall I do hear that the Catholiques are in great hopes for all this, and do set hard upon

the King to get Indulgence. Matters, I hear, are all naught in Ireland, and the people, that is, the Papists, do cry out against the Commissioners sent by the King; so that they say the English interest will be lost there. To see my Lord Sandwich, who I found very ill, and by his cold being several nights hindered from sleep, he is hardly able to open his eyes, and is very weak and sad upon it, which troubled me much.

18th. This day my tryangle, which was put in tune yesterday, did please me very well—Ashwell playing upon it pretty well.

[April] 4th. After dinner to Hide Parke; Mrs Wright and I in one coach, and all the rest of the women in Mrs Turner's; Roger Pepys being gone in haste to the Parliament about the carrying this business of the Papists, in which it seems there is a great contest on both sides. This being my feast, in lieu of what I should have had a few days ago, for the cutting of the stone, very merry at, before, and after dinner, and the more for that my dinner was great, and most neatly dressed by our own only mayde. We had a fricasee of rabbits, and chickens, a leg of mutton boiled, three carps in a dish, a great dish of a side of lamb, a dish of roasted pigeons, a dish of four lobsters, three tarts, a lamprey pie, a most rare pie, a dish of anchoves, good wine of several sorts, and all things mighty noble, and to my great content.

10th. After great expectation from Ireland, and long stop of letters, there is good news come, that all is quiett, though some stir hath been, as was reported. With my wife, and walked to the New Exchange. There laid out 10s. upon pendants, and painted leather gloves, very pretty and all the mode.

12th. (Lord's day.) Got a coach to Gray's Inn Walks, where some handsome faces. Coming home to-night, a drunken boy was carrying by our constable to our new pair of stocks to hansom them, being a new pair, and very handsome.

14th. By barge to Woolwich, to see *The Royall James* launched, where she hath been under repair a great while. And so home, the ship well launched. Sir G. Carteret tells me to-night that he perceives the Parliament is likely to make a great bustle before they will give the King any money; will call all things in question; and, above all, the expences of the Navy.

16th. Met to pass Mr Pitt's, Sir J. Lawson's Secretary and Deputy-Treasurer, accounts for the voyage last to the Streights, wherein the demands are strangely irregular, and I dare not

oppose it alone ; but God knows, it troubles my heart to see it, and to see the Comptroller, whose duty it is, to make no more matter of it.

17th. It being Good Friday, our dinner was only sugar-soppes and fish ; the only time that we have had a Lenten dinner all this Lent.

19th. (Easter-day.) Up, and this day put on my close-kneed coloured suit, which, with new stockings of the colour, with belt, and new gilt-handled sword, is very handsome. To church, where the young Scotchman preaching, I slept awhile. After supper, fell in discourse of dancing, and I find that Ashwell hath a very fine carriage, which makes my wife almost ashamed of herself to see herself so outdone, but to-morrow she begins to learn to dance for a month or two. Will being gone, with my leave, to his father's this day for a day or two, to take physique these holydays.

22d. To my uncle Wight's, by invitation, where we had but a poor dinner, and not well dressed ; besides, the very sight of my aunt's hands, and greasy manner of carving, did almost turn my stomach. After dinner, to the king's play-house, where we saw but part of *Witt without Mony*, which I do not like much—it costing me four half-crowns for myself and company.

23d. St George's day and Coronacion, the King and Court being at Windsor, at the installing of the King of Denmarke by proxy, and the Duke of Monmouth.

26th. (Lord's day.) Tom coming, with whom I was angry for his botching my camlott coat, to tell me that my father was at our church, I got me ready, and had a very good sermon of a country minister upon "How blessed a thing it is for brethren to live together in unity." My wife, Ashwell, and the boy and I, and the dog, over the water, and walked to half-way house, and beyond into the fields, gathering of cow-slipps, and so to half-way house, with some cold lamb we carried with us, and there supped, and had a most pleasant walk back again, Ashwell all along telling us some parts of their maske at Chelsey school, which was very pretty, and I find she hath a most prodigious memory, remembering so much of things acted six or seven years ago. So home, being sleepy, without prayers to bed, for which God forgive me !

30th. To dinner, where Mrs Hunt, my father, and W. Stankes ; but, Lord ! what a stir Stankes makes, with his being crowded in the streets, and wearied in walking in London, and would not be

wooded by my wife and Ashwell to go to a play nor to White Hall, or to see the Lyons, though he was carried in a coach. I never could have thought there had been upon earth a man so little curious in the world as he is.

[May] 3d. (Lord's day.) To church, where Sir W. Pen shewed me the young lady which young Dawes, that sits in the new corner-pew in the church, hath stole away from Sir Andrew Rickard, her guardian, worth £1000 per annum, present, good land, and some money, and a very well-bred and handsome lady: he, I doubt, but a simple fellow. However, he got this good luck to get her, which methinks I could envy him, with all my heart.

4th. The dancing-master [Pembleton] come, whom standing by, seeing him instructing my wife, when he had done with her, he would needs have me try the steps of a coranto; and what with his desire and my wife's importunity, I did begin, and then was obliged to give him entry money 10s., and am become his scholler. The truth is, I think it is a thing very useful for any gentleman.

9th. At Mr Jervas's, my old barber, I did try two or three borders and perriwigs, meaning to wear one; and yet I have no stomach [for it], but that the pains of keeping my hair clean is so great. He trimmed me, and at last I parted, but my mind was almost altered from my first purpose, from the trouble that I foresee will be in wearing them also.

10th. (Lord's day.) Put on a black cloth suit, with white lynyngs under all, as the fashion is to wear, to appear under the breeches. I walked to St James's, and was there at masse, and was forced in the crowd to kneel down: and masse being done, to the King's Head ordinary, where many Parliament-men.

11th. On foot to Greenwich, where, going, I was set upon by a great dog, who got hold of my garters, and might have done me hurt; but, Lord! to see in what a maze I was, that, having a sword about me, I never thought of it, or had the heart to make use of it, but might, for want of that courage, have been worried.

12th. A little angry with my wife for minding nothing now but the dancing-master, having him come twice a day, which is folly.

14th. Met Mr Moore; and with him to an ale-house in Holborne; where in discourse he told me that he fears the King will be tempted to endeavour the setting the Crown upon the little

Duke, which may cause troubles; which God forbid, unless it be his due! He told me my Lord do begin to settle to business again; and that the King did send for him the other day to my Lady Castlemaine's, to play at cards, where he lost £50; for which I am sorry, though he says my Lord was pleased at it, and said he would be glad at any time to lose £50 for the King to send for him to play, which I do not so well like. This day we received a baskett from my sister Pall, made by her, of paper, which hath a great deal of labour in it for country innocent work.

16th. After dinner comes Pembleton again, and I did go up to them to practise, and did make an end of *La Duchesse*, which I think I should, with a little pains, do very well.

17th. (Lord's day.) Up, and in my chamber all the morning, preparing my great letters to my father, stating to him the perfect condition of our estate.

18th. I walked to White Hall, and into the Park, seeing the Queen and Maids of Honour passing through the house, going to the Park. Taking a coach to Mrs Clerke's—took her, and my wife, and Ashwell, and a Frenchman, a kinsman of her's, to the Park; where we saw many fine faces, and one exceeding handsome, in a white dress over her head, with many others very beautiful. Home, talking much of what we had observed to-day of the poor household stuff of Mrs Clerke, and her show and flutter that she makes in the world; and pleasing myself in my own house and manner of living more than ever I did, by seeing how much better and more substantially I live than others do.

19th. With Sir John Minnes to the Tower; and by Mr Slingsby, and Mr Howard, Comptroller of the Mint, we were shown the method of making this new money. That being done, the Comptroller would have us dine with him and his company, the King giving them a dinner every day. And very merry and good discourse upon the business we have been upon, and after dinner went to the Assay Office, and there saw the manner of assaying of gold and silver, and how silver melted down with gold do part, [upon] just being put into aqua-fortis, the silver turning into water, and the gold lying whole, in the very form it was put in, mixed of gold and silver, which is a miracle; and to see no silver at all, but turned into water which they can bring again into itself out of the water: and at table they told us of two cheats, the best I ever heard. One of a labourer discovered to convey away

bits of silver cut out for pence by swallowing them, and so they could not find him out, though, of course, they searched all the labourers : but, having reason to doubt him, they did, by threats and promises, get him to confess, and did find £7 of it in his house at one time. The other of one that got a way of coyning as good and passable, and large as the true money is, and yet saved fifty per cent. to himself, which was by getting moulds made to stamp groats like old groats, which is done so well, and I did beg two of them, which I keep for rarities, that there is not better in the world, and is as good and better than those that commonly go, which was the only thing that they could find out to doubt them by, besides the number that the party do go to put off, and then, coming to the Comptroller of the Mint, he could not, I say, find out any other thing to raise any doubt upon, but only their being so truly round or near it. He was neither hanged nor burned ; the cheat was thought so ingenious, and being the first time they could ever trap him in it, and so little hurt to any man in it, the money being as good as commonly goes. They now coyne between 16 and 24,000 pounds in a week.

22d. Rendall, the house-carpenter at Deptford, hath sent me a fine blackbird, which I went to see. He tells me he was offered 20s. for him as he come along, he do so whistle. We walked pleasantly to Woolwich, in our way hearing the nightingales sing.

23d. Waked this morning between four and five by my blackbird, which whistled as well as ever I heard any ; only it is the beginning of many tunes very well, but there leaves them, and goes no further.

June 1st. The Duke having been a-hunting to-day, and so lately come home and gone to bed, we could not see him, and we walked away. And I with Sir J. Minnes to the Strand May-pole ; and there light out of his coach, and walked to the New Theatre, which, since the King's players are gone to the Royal one, is this day begun to be employed by the fencers to play prizes at. And here I come and saw the first prize I ever saw in my life : and it was between one Mathews, who did beat at all weapons, and one Westwicke, who was soundly cut several times both in the head and legs, that he was all over blood : and other deadly blows they did give and take in very good earnest, till Westwicke was in a sad pickle. They fought at eight weapons, three bouts at each weapon. This being upon a private quarrel, they did it in good earnest ; and

I felt one of their swords and found it to be very little, if at all, blunter on the edge than the common swords are. Strange to see what a deal of money is flung to them both upon the stage between every bout. So, well pleased for once with this sight, I walked home.

2d. With the vintner's man, who came by my direction to taste again my tierce of claret, to go down to the cellar with him to consult about the drawing of it; and there, to my great vexation, I find that the cellar door hath been kept long unlocked, and above half the wine drunk.

5th. To Paul's Churchyard, where I found several books ready bound for me: among others, the new Concordance of the Bible, which pleases me much, and is a book I hope to make good use of. To Deptford, where Dr Britton, parson of the town, a fine man and good company, dined with us, and good discourse. To Mrs Turner's, and there saw Mr Edward Pepys's lady, who my wife concurs with me to be very pretty, as most women we ever saw.

14th. (Lord's day.) I did give my wife 40s. to carry into the country to-morrow with her, whereof 15s. is to go for the coach-hire for her and Ashwell, there being 20s. paid here already in earnest. To Sir W. Pen's, to visit him, and, finding him alone, sent for my wife, who is in her riding-suit, to see him, which she hath not done these many months, I think. Comes Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten. So we sat talking: among other things, Sir J. Minnes brought many fine expressions of Chaucer, which he doats on mightily, and without doubt [he] is a very fine poet.

21st. (Lord's day.) To church, and slept all the sermon; the Scot [Creighton], to whose voice I am not to be reconciled, preaching.

23d. To the office; and, after an hour or two, by water to the Temple, to my cousin Roger; who, I perceive, is a deadly high man in the Parliament business, and against the Court, showing me how they have computed that the King hath spent, at least hath received, above four millions of money since he come in.

25th. Sir G. Carteret did tell us that upon Tuesday last, being with my Lord Treasurer, he showed him a letter from Portugall speaking of the advance of the Spaniards into their country, and yet that the Portuguese were never more courageous than now; for, by an old prophecy sent thither some years, though not many since, from the French King, it is foretold that the Spaniards should

come into their country, and in such a valley they should be all killed, and then their country should be wholly delivered from the Spaniards. This was on Tuesday last, and yesterday come the very first news that in this very valley they had thus routed and killed the Spaniards. This noon I received a letter from the country from my wife, wherein she seems much pleased with the country : God continue, that she may have pleasure while she is there. She by my Lady's advice desires a new petticoat of the new silk striped stuff—very pretty. So I went to Pater Noster Row presently, and bought her a very fine rich one—the best I did see there, and much better than she desires or expects.

30th. Yesterday and to-day the sun rising very bright and glorious ; and yet yesterday, as it hath been these two months and more, was foul the most part of the day—this being the only fair day we have had these three or four months. Thus, by God's blessing, ends this book of two years ; I being in all points in good health, and a good way to thrive and do well. Some money I do and can lay up, but not much, being worth now above £700, besides goods of all sorts. My wife in the country with Ashwell, her woman, with my father : myself at home with W. Hewer and my cook-maid Hannah—my boy Waynman being lately run away from me. In my office, my repute and understanding good, specially with the Duke and Mr Coventry ; only the rest of the officers do rather envy than love me, I standing in most of their lights, specially Sir W. Batten, whose cheats I do daily oppose to his great trouble, though he appears mighty kind and willing to keep friendship with me, while Sir J. Minnes, like a dotard, is led by the nose by him. Public matters are in an ill condition : Parliament sitting and raising four subsidys for the King, which is but a little, considering his wants : and yet that parted withal with great hardness. They being offended to see so much money go, and no debts of the public's paid, but all swallowed by a luxurious Court ; which the King, it is believed and hoped, will retrench in a little time, when he comes to see the utmost of the revenue which shall be settled on him ; he expecting to have his £1,200,000 made good to him, which is not yet done by above £150,000, as he himself reports to the House. My differences with my uncle Thomas at a good quiett, blessed be God ! and other matters. The town full of the great overthrow lately given to the Spaniards by the Portugall, they being advanced into the very middle of

Portugall. The charge of the Navy intended to be limited to £200,000 per annum, the ordinary charge of it, and that to be settled upon the Customes. Myself very studious to learne what I can of all things necessary to my place.

[July] 4th. This day, in the Duke's chamber there being a Roman story in the hangings, and upon the standard written these four letters—S. P. Q. R., Sir G. Carteret came to me to know what the meaning of those four letters were; which ignorance is not to be borne in a Privy Counsellor, methinks, what a schoolboy should be whipt for not knowing.

6th. At my office all the morning, writing out a list of the King's ships in my Navy collections with great pleasure.

7th. In Mr Pett's garden I eat some of the first cherries I have eat this year, off the tree where the King himself had been gathering some this morning.

8th. I hear not what will become of the corn this year, we having had but two fair days these many months.

15th. Captain Grove come and dined with me. He told me of discourse very much to my honour, both as to my care and ability, happening at the Duke of Albemarle's table the other day, both from the Duke and the Duchess themselves: and how I paid so much a year to him whose place it was of right, and that Mr Coventry did report this of me.

21st. This day the Parliament kept a fast for the present unseasonable weather.

22d. To my Lord Crewe's. My Lord not being come home, I met, and staid below, with Captain Ferrers, who was come to wait upon my Lady Jemimah to St James's, she being one of the four ladies that hold up the mantle at the christening this afternoon of the Duke's child, a boy. I hear that the Moores have made some attaques upon the outworks of Tangier; but my Lord Teviott, with the loss of about 200 men, did beat them off, and kill many of them. To-morrow the King and Queen for certain go down to Tunbridge; but the King comes back again against Monday to raise the Parliament.

25th. Having intended this day to go to Banstead Downes to see a famous race, I sent Will. to get himself ready to go with me; but I hear it is put off, because the Lords do sit in Parliament to-day. After some debate, Creed and I resolved to go to Clapham, to Mr Gauden's. Towards the evening we bade them adieu! and took

horse ; being resolved that, instead of the race which fails us, we would go to Epsom. When we come there, we could hear of no lodging, the town so full ; but, which was better, I went towards Ashted, and there we got a lodging in a little hole we could not stand upright in.

26th. (Lord's day.) Up and to the Wells, where a great store of citizens, which was the greatest part of the company, though there were some others of better quality. Then rode through Epsom, the whole town over, seeing the various companys that were there walking ; which was very pleasant to see how they are there, without knowing what to do, but only in the morning to drink waters.

27th. We rode hard home, and set up our horses at Fox Hall, and I by water, observing the King's barge attending his going to the House this day, home, it being about one o'clock. By water to Westminster, and there come most luckily to the Lords' House, as the House of Commons were going into the Lords' House, and there I crowded in along with the Speaker, and got to stand close behind him, where he made his speech to the King, who sat with his crown on and robes, and so all the Lords in their robes, a fine sight ; wherein he told his Majesty what they have done this Parliament, and now offered for his royall consent. The greatest matters were a bill for the Lord's day, which it seems the Lords have lost, and so cannot be passed, at which the Commons are displeased. The bills against Conventicles and Papists, but it seems the Lords have not passed them, and giving his Majesty four entire subsidys ; which last, with about twenty smaller Acts, were passed with this form : The Clerk of the House reads the title of the bill, and then looks at the end, and there finds, writ by the King, I suppose, "*Le Roy le veult*," and that he reads. And to others he reads, "*Soit fait comme vous désirez*." And to the Subsidys, as well that for the Commons, I mean the Layety, as for the Clergy, the King writes, "*Le Roy remerçant les Seigneurs et Prélats, accepte leur bénévolence*." The Speaker's speech was far from any oratory, but was as plain, though good matter, as any thing could be, and void of elocution. After the bills passed, the King, sitting on his throne, with his speech writ in a paper which he held in his lap, and scarce looked off of it all the time, he made his speech to them, giving them thanks for their subsidys, of which, had he not need, he would not have asked or received them ; and

that need, not from any extravagancys of his, he was sure, in any thing, but the disorders of the times compelling him to be at greater charge than he hoped for the future, by their care in their country, he should be : and that for his family expenses and others, he would labour, however, to retrench in many things convenient, and would have all others to do so too. He desired that nothing of old faults should be remembered, or severity for the same used to any in the country, it being his desire to have all forgot, as well as forgiven. But, however, to use all care in suppressing any tumults, &c. ; assuring them that the restless spirits of his and their adversaries have great expectations of something to be done this summer. And promised, that though the Acts about Conventicles and Papists were not ripe for passing this Session, yet he would take care himself that neither of them should in this intervall be encouraged to the endangering of the peace ; and that at their next meeting he would himself prepare two bills for them concerning them. So he concluded that, for the better proceeding of justice, he did think fit to make this a Session, and do prorogue them to the 16th of March next. His speech was very plain, nothing at all of spirit in it, nor spoke with any ; but rather, on the contrary, imperfectly, repeating many times his words, though he read all : which I am sorry to see, it having not been hard for him to have got all the speech without booke. So they all went away, the King out of the House at the upper end, He being by and by to go to Tunbridge to the Queen ; and I in the Painted Chamber spoke with my Lord Sandwich while he was putting off his robes, who tells me he will now hasten down into the country. By water to White Hall, and walked over the Parke to St James's, but missed Mr Coventry ; and so out again, and there the Duke was coming along the Pell-Mell. It being a little darkish, I staid not to take notice of him, but went directly back again. And in our walk over the Parke, one of the Duke's footmen come running behind us, and come looking just in our faces to see who we were, and went back again. What his meaning is I know not, but was fearful that I might not go far enough with my hat off.

30th. The towne talk this day is of nothing but the great foot-race run this day on Banstead Downes, between Lee, the Duke of Richmond's footman, and a tyler, a famous runner. And Lee hath beat him ; though the King and Duke of York and all men almost did bet three or four to one upon the tyler's head.

[August] 24th. At my Lord Sandwich's, where I was a good while alone with my Lord; and I perceive he confides in me, and loves me as he used to do, and tells me his condition, which is now very well: all I fear is that he will not live within compass. I offered my Lord my accounts, and did give him up his old bond for £500, and took a new one of him for £700, which I am, by lending him more money, to make up: and am glad of it.

25th. This noon, going to the Exchange, I met a fine fellow with trumpets before him in Leadenhall Street, and upon enquiry I find that he is the clerke of the City Market; and three or four men carried each of them an arrow of a pound weight in their hands. It seems this Lord Mayor begins again an old custome, that upon the three first days of Bartholomew Fayre, the first, there is a match of wrestling, which was done, and the Lord Mayor there and the Alderman in Moore-fields yesterday: second day, shooting: and to-morrow hunting. And this officer of course is to perform this ceremony of riding through the city, I think to proclaim or challenge any to shoot. It seems that the people of the faire cry out upon it, as a great hindrance to them.

26th. To White Hall, where the Court full of waggons and horses, the King and Court going this day out towards the Bath. Pleased to see Captain Hickes come to me with a list of all the officers of Deptford Yard, wherein he, being a high old Cavalier, do give me an account of every one of them to their reproach in all respects, and discovers many of their knaverys; and tells me, and so I thank God I hear every where, that my name is up for a good husband to the King, and a good man, for which I bless God; and that he did this by particular direction of Mr Coventry.

28th. At the office betimes. Cold all night and this morning, and a very great frost, they say, abroad, which is much, having had no summer at all almost.

September 2d. To dinner with my Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, and a very great dinner and most excellent venison, but it almost made me sick by not daring to drink wine. After dinner, into a withdrawing-room; and there we talked, among other things, of the Lord Mayor's sword. They tell me this sword is at least a hundred or two hundred years old; and another that he hath, which is called the Black Sword, which the Lord Mayor wears when he mournes, but properly is their Lenten sword

to wear upon Good Friday and other Lent days, is older than that.

7th. To the Black Eagle in Bride Lane, and there had a chop of veale, and some bread, cheese, and beer, cost me a shilling to my dinner; and so to Bartholomew fayre, where I met with Mr Pickering, and he and I to see the monkeys at the Dutch house, which is far beyond the other that my wife and I saw the other day; and thence to see the dancing on the ropes, which was very poor and tedious. But he and I fell in discourse about my Lord Sandwich. He tells me how he is sorry for my Lord at his being at Chelsey; but I could not fish from him, though I knew it, what was the matter; but am very sorry to see that my Lord hath thus much forgot his honour, but am resolved not to meddle with it. The play being done, I stole from him and hied home, buying several things at the ironmonger's; dogs, tongues, and shovells, for my wife's closet, and the rest of my house. I am mightily afraid of laying out too much money in goods upon my house, but it is not money flung away, though I reckon nothing money but what is in the bank, till I have a good sum beforehand in the world.

8th. Dined at home with my wife. It being washing-day, we had a good pie baked of a leg of mutton; and then to Moxon's, and there bought a payre of globes cost me £3 10s., with which I am well pleased.

10th. All the morning making a great contract with Sir W. Warren, for £3000 worth of masts, but, good God! to see what a man might do, were I a knave. Mr Moore tells me of the good peace that is made at Tangier with the Moores, but to continue but from six months to six months.

11th. This morning, about two or three o'clock, knocked up in our back yard, and rising to the window, being moonshine, I found it was the constable and his watch, who had found our back yard door open, and so come in to see what the matter was. So I desired them to shut the door, and bid them good-night.

17th. I was forced to come to a new consideration, whether it was fit to let my uncle and his son go to Wisbeach about my uncle Day's estate alone or no, and concluded it unfit; and so, leaving my wife, I begun a journey with them, and with much ado through the fenns, along dikes, where sometimes we were ready to have our horses sink to the belly, we got by night, with

a great deal of stir, and hard riding, to Parson's Drove, a heathen place, where I found my uncle and aunt Perkins, and their daughters, poor wretches! in a sad, poor thatched cottage, like a poor barne, or stable, peeling of hemp, in which I did give myself good content to see their manner of preparing of hemp; and in a poor condition of habitt took them to our miserable inne, and there, after long stay, and hearing of Frank, their son, the miller, play upon his treble, as he calls it, with which he earnes part of his living, and singing of a country song, we set down to supper; the whole crew, and Stankes's wife and child, a sad company, of which I was ashamed, supped with us. By and by, newes is brought to us, that one of our horses is stole out of the stable, which proves my uncle's, at which I am inwardly glad—I mean, that it was not mine: and at this we were at a great loss; and they doubting a person that lay at next door, a Londoner, some lawyer's clerk, we caused him to be secured in his bed, and other care to be taken to seize the house; and so, about twelve at night or more, to bed, in a sad, cold, stony chamber; and a little after I was asleep, they waked me, to tell me that the horse was found, which was good news, and so to sleep, but was bit cruelly, and nobody else of our company, which I wonder at, by the gnatts.

18th. Up, and got our people together; and after eating a dishe of cold creame, which was my supper last night too, we took leave of our beggarly company, though they seem good people, too; and over most sad fenns, all the way observing the sad life which the people of the place—which, if they be born there, they do call the Breedlings of the place—do live, sometimes rowing from one spot to another, and then wadeing. To Wisbeach, a pretty town, and a fine church and library, where sundry very old abbey manuscripts; and a fine house, built on the church ground, by Secretary Thurlow, and a fine gallery built for him in the church, but now all in the Bishop of Ely's hands. After visiting the church, &c., we out of the town, by the help of a stranger, to find out one Blinkehorne, a miller, of whom we might inquire something of old Day's disposal of his estate, and in whose hands it now is; and by great chance we met him, and brought him to our inne to dinner; and instead of being informed in his estate by this fellow, we find that he is the next heire to the estate, which was matter of great sport to my cozen Thomas and me, to see such a fellow prevent us in our hopes—he being Day's brother's

daughter's son, whereas we are but his sister's sons and grandsons : so that, after all, we were fain to propose our matter to him, and to get him to give us leave to look after the business, and so he to have one-third part, and we two to have the other two-third parts, of what should be recovered of the estate, which he consented to ; and, after paying the reckoning, we mounted again, and rode, being very merry at our defeate, to Chatteris—my uncle very weary, and after supper, and my telling of three stories to their good liking of spirits, we all three in a chamber went to bed.

19th. Up pretty betimes ; and I to Brampton, where I find my father ill in bed still, and Madam Norbery, whom and her fair daughter and sister I was ashamed to kiss, but did—my lip being sore with riding in the winde, and bit with the gnats ; and they being gone, I told my father my successe. My wife and I took horse, and rode with marvellous, and the first and only hour of, pleasure that ever I had in this estate, since I had to do with it, to Brampton woods ; and through the wood rode, and gathered nuts in my way, and then at Graffan, to an old woman's house, to drink, where my wife used to go ; and being in all circumstances highly pleased, and in my wife's riding and good company at this time, I rode, and she showed me the river behind my father's house, which is very pleasant ; and so saw her home, and I straight to Huntingdon ; and there a barber come and trimmed me, and thence walked to Hinchingbroke, where my Lord and ladies all are just alighted.

20th. (Lord's day.) Walked to Huntingdon Church, where in my Lord's pew, with the young ladies, by my Lord's own showing me the place, I stayed the sermon, and so to Hinchingbroke, walking with Mr Sheply and Dr King, whom they account a witty man here, as well as good physician, and there my Lord singly demanded my opinion, in the walks in his garden, about the bringing of the crooked wall on the Mount to a shape ; and so to dinner—there being Colonel Williams and much other company, and a noble dinner. But having before got my Lord's warrant for travelling to-day, there being a proclamation read against it at Huntingdon, at which I am very glad, I took leave, and rode to Bigglesworth, by the help of a couple of countrymen, that led us through the very long and dangerous waters, because of the ditches on each side, though it begun to be very dark.

21st. Up very betimes by break of day, and got my wife up,

whom the thought of this day's long journey do discourage ; and after eating something, and changing a piece of gold to pay the reckoning, we mounted, and through Baldwicke, where the fayre is kept to-day, and a great one for cheese and other such commodities, and to Hatfield ; and here we dined, and my wife being very weary, I took the opportunity of an empty coach that was to go to London, and left her to come in it to London, for half a crowne, and so I and the boy home as fast as we could drive, and it was even night before we got home. By and by comes my wife by coach well home, and having got a good fowl ready for supper against her coming, we ate heartily, and so with great content and ease to our own bed, there nothing appearing so to our content as to be at our own home, after being abroad awhile.

22d. This day my wife showed me bills printed, wherein her father, with Sir John Collidon and Sir Edward Ford, have got a patent for curing of smoking chimneys. I wish they may do good thereof. My present care is fitting my wife's closet and my house, and making her a velvet coate, and me a new black cloth suit and coat and cloak.

[October] 14th. After dinner my wife and I, by Mr Rawlinson's conduct, to the Jewish Synagogue : where the men and boys in their vayles, and the women behind a lattice out of sight ; and some things stand up, which I believe is their Law, in a press, to which all coming in do bow ; and in the putting on their vayles do say something, to which others that hear the priest do cry, Amen, and the party do kiss his vayle. Their service all in a singing way, and in Hebrew. And anon their Laws that they take out of the press are carried by several men, four or five several burthens in all, and they do relieve one another ; and whether it is that every one desires to have the carrying of it, thus they carried it round about the room while such a service is singing. And in the end they had a prayer for the King, in which they pronounced his name in Portugall ; but the prayer, like the rest, in Hebrew. But, Lord ! to see the disorder, laughing, sporting, and no attention, but confusion in all their service, more like brutes than people knowing the true God, would make a man forswear ever seeing them more : and indeed I never did see so much, or could have imagined there had been any religion in the whole world, so absurdly performed as this.

17th. Some discourse of the Queen's being very sick, if not

dead, the Duke and Duchess of York being sent for betimes this morning to come to White Hall to her.

18th. (Lord's day.) The parson, Mr Mills, I perceive, did not know whether to pray for the Queen or no, and so said nothing about her; which makes me fear she is dead. But enquiring of Sir J. Minnes, he told me that he heard she was better last night. To church again, and there a simple coxcombe preached worse than the Scot.

19th. Waked with a very high wind, and said to my wife, "I pray God I hear not of the death of any great person, this wind is so high!" fearing that the Queen might be dead.

30th. At my periwig-maker's, and there showed my wife the periwig made for me, and she likes it very well, and so to my brother's, and to buy a pair of boddice for her.

31st. To my great sorrow find myself £43 worse than I was the last month, which was then £760, and now it is but £717. But it hath chiefly arisen from my layings-out in clothes for myself and wife; viz., for her about £12, and for myself £55, or thereabouts; having made myself a velvet cloak, two new cloth shirts, black, plain both; a new shag gown, trimmed with gold buttons and twist, with a new hat, and silk tops for my legs, and many other things, being resolved henceforward to go like myself. And also two perriwigs, one whereof costs me £3, and the other 40s. I have worn neither yet, but will begin next week, God willing. I having laid out in clothes for myself, and wife, and for her closet and other things without, these two months this, and the last, besides household expenses of victualls, &c., above £110. But I hope I shall with more comfort labour to get more, and with better successe than when, for want of clothes, I was forced to sneak like a beggar. The Queen continues light-headed, but in hopes to recover. The plague is much in Amsterdam, and we in fear of it here, which God defend. The Turke goes on mighty in the Emperor's dominions, and the Princes cannot agree among themselves how to go against him.

[November] 4th. To my office, shewing myself to Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes, and no great matter made of my periwig, as I was afraid there would. The Queen is in a great way to recovery.

6th. To the Coffee-house, and among other things heard Sir John Cutler say, that of his own experience in time of thunder so

many barrells of beer as have a piece of iron laid upon them, will not be soured, and the others will. To White Hall, where my Lord met me very fortunately, and wondered first to see me in my perruque, and I am glad it is over.

7th. This day, Captain Taylor brought me a piece of plate, a little small state dish, he expecting that I should get him some allowance for demorage of his ship *William*, kept long at Tangier, which I shall, and may justly do.

8th. (Lord's day.) To church, where I found that my coming in a perriwigg did not prove so strange as I was afraid it would, for I thought that all the church would presently have cast their eyes all upon me, but I found no such thing.

9th. To the Duke, where, when we come into his closet, he told us that Mr Pepys was so altered with his new perriwigg that he did not know him.

10th. The Queen, I hear, is now very well again, and that she hath bespoke herself a new gown.

11th. At noon to the Coffee-house, where, with Dr Allen, some good discourse about physick and chymistry. And among other things, I telling him what Dribble, the German Doctor, do offer of an instrument to sink ships; he tells me that which is more strange, that something made of gold, which they call in chymistry *Aurum Fulminans*, a grain, I think he said, of it, put into a silver spoon and fired, will give a blow like a musquett, and strike a hole through the silver spoon downward, without the least force upward; and this he can make a cheaper experiment of, he says, with iron prepared.

13th. After dinner, come my perriwigg-maker, and brings me a second periwigg, made of my own hair, which comes to 21s. 6d. more than the worth of my own hair, so that they both come to £4, 1s. 6d., which he sayth will serve me two years, but I fear it. He being gone, I to my office, and put on my new shagg purple gown, with gold buttons and loop-lace.

15th. (Lord's day.) This day being our Queen's birthday, the guns of the Tower went all off; and in the evening the Lord Mayor sent from church to church to order the constables to cause bonfires to be made in every street, which methinks is a poor thing to be forced to be commanded. After a good supper with my wife, and hearing of the maids read in the Bible, to prayers and to bed.

20th. To my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, but he was gone out before, and so I am defeated of my expectation of being eased one way or other in the business of my Lord. But I up to Mr Howe, who I saw this day the first time in a periwig, which becomes him very well. He tells me that my Lord is of a sudden much changed, and he do believe that he do take my letter well. However, we both bless God that it hath so good an effect upon him. Thence I home again. A great talk there is to-day of a crush between some of the Fanatiques up in arms, and the King's men in the North; but whether true I know not yet.

21st. At noon, I receive a letter from Mr Creed, with a token, viz., a very noble parti-coloured Indian gowne for my wife. The letter is oddly writ, overprizing his present, and little owning any past services of mine. I confess I had expectations of a better account from him of my services about his accounts, and so give his boy 12*d.*, and sent it back again. And this afternoon I went to Ludgate, and, by pricing several there, I guess this gowne may be worth about £12 or £15. But, however, I expect at least £50 of him. My mind being pretty well at ease for my receipt this afternoon of £17 at the Treasury, paid a year since to the carver for his work at my house, which I did intend to have paid myself, but, finding others to do it, I thought it not amisse to get it too.

[December] 6th. (Lord's day.) My wife and I all the afternoon at arithmetique, and she is come to do Addition, Subtraction, and Multiplication, very well.

10th. To St Paul's Church Yard, to my bookseller's, and, having gained this day in the office by my stationer's bill to the King about 40*s.* or £3, calling for twenty books to lay this money out upon, and found myself at a great loss where to choose, and do see how my nature would gladly return to the laying out of money in this trade. Could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure, as plays, which my nature was most earnest in; but at last, after seeing Chaucer, Dugdale's *History of Paul's*, Stow's *London*, Gesner, *History of Trent*, besides Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont's plays, I at last choose Dr Fuller's *Worthys*, the *Cabbala*, or *Collections of Letters of State*, and a little book, *Delices de Hollande*, with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure; and *Hudibras*, both parts, the book now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies. My mind being thus settled, I went

by link home, and so to my office, and to read in Rushworth ; and so home to supper and to bed.

21st. To Shoe Lane, to see a cocke-fighting at a new pit there, a spot I was never at in my life : but Lord ! to see the strange variety of people, from Parliament man, by name Wildes, that was Deputy Governor of the Tower when Robinson was Lord Mayor, to the poorest 'prentices, bakers, brewers, butchers, draymen, and what not ; and all these fellows one with another cursing and betting. I soon had enough of it. It is strange to see how people of this poor rank, that look as if they had not bread to put in their mouths, shall bet three or four pounds at a time, and lose it, and yet bet as much the next battle ; so that one of them will lose 10 or £20 at a meeting.

22d. I heard to-day of a great fray lately between Sir H. Finch's coachman, who struck with his whip a coachman of the King's, to the loss of one of his eyes ; at which the people of the Exchange seeming to laugh and make sport, with some words of contempt to him, my Lord Chamberlain did come from the King to shut up the 'Change, and by the help of a justice did it ; but upon petition to the King it was opened again.

25th. (Christmas-day.) My wife begun, I know not whether by design or chance, to enquire what she should do, if I should by any accident die, to which I did give her some slight answer, but shall make good use of it to bring myself to some settlement for her sake, by making a will as soon as I can.

1663-64

January 1st. At the Coffee-house, where much talking about a very rich widow, young and handsome, of one Sir Nicholas Gold's, a merchant, lately fallen, and of great courtiers that already look after her : her husband not dead a week yet. She is reckoned worth £80,000. Went to the Duke's house, the first play I have been at these six months, according to my last vowe, and here saw the so much cried-up play of *Henry the Eighth*, which, though I went with resolution to like it, is so simple a thing, made up of a great many patches, that, besides the shows and processions in it, there is nothing in the world good or well done.

4th. To the Tennis Court, and there saw the King play at

tennis and others : but to see how the King's play was extolled, without any cause at all, was a loathsome sight, though sometimes, indeed, he did play very well, and deserved to be commended ; but such open flattery is beastly.

6th. (Twelfth day.) This morning I began a practice, which I find, by the ease I do it with, that I shall continue, it saving me money and time ; that is, to trimme myself with a razer : which pleases me mightily.

9th. By discourse with my wife, thought upon inviting my Lord Sandwich to a dinner shortly. It will cost me at least ten or twelve pounds ; but, however, some arguments of prudence I have, which I shall think again upon before I proceed to that expence. Called at Ludgate, at Ashwell's uncle's, but she was not within, to have spoke to her to have come to dress my wife at the time when my Lord dines here.

10th. (Lord's day.) All our discourse to-night was about Mr Tryon's late being robbed ; and that Colonel Turner, a mad, swearing, confident fellow, well known by all, and by me, one much indebted to this man for his very livelihood, was the man that either did or plotted it ; and the money and things are found in his hand, and he and his wife now in Newgate for it : of which we are all glad, so very a known rogue he was.

19th. My eyes began to fail me, and to be in pain, which I never felt to now-a-days.

21st. Up, and after sending my wife to my aunt Wight's, to get a place to see Turner hanged, I to the 'Change ; and seeing people flock in the City, I enquired, and found that Turner was not yet hanged. So I went among them to Leadenhall Street, at the end of Lyme Street, near where the robbery was done ; and to St Mary Axe, where he lived. And there I got for a shilling to stand upon the wheel of a cart, in great pain, above an hour before the execution was done ; he delaying the time by long discourses and prayers, one after another, in hopes of a reprieve ; but none come, and at last he was flung off the ladder in his cloak. A comely-looking man he was, and kept his countenance to the end : I was sorry to see him. It was believed there were at least 12 to 14,000 people in the street. To the Coffee-house, and heard the full of Turner's discourse on the cart, which was chiefly to clear himself of all things laid to his charge but this fault, for which he now suffers, which he confesses. He deplored the condition of his

family, but his chief design was to lengthen time, believing still a reprieve would come, though the sheriff advised him to expect no such thing, for the King was resolved to grant none. To my aunt Wight's, where Dr Burnett did tell me how poorly the sheriffs did endeavour to get one jewell returned by Turner, after he was convicted, as a due to them, and not to give it to Mr Tryon, the true owner, but ruled against them, to their great dishonour.

22d. To Deptford, and there viewed Sir W. Petty's vessel; which hath an odd appearance, but not such as people do make of it.

30th. The day kept solemnly for the King's murder. In the evening signed and sealed my last will and testament, which is to my mind, and I hope to the liking of God Almighty. This evening I tore some old papers; among others, a romance which, under the title of *Love a Cheate*, I begun ten years ago at Cambridge: and, reading it over to-night, I liked it very well, and wondered a little at myself, at my vein at that time when I wrote it, doubting that I cannot do so well now if I would try.

31st. (Lord's day.) I did perfectly prepare a state of my estate, and annexed it to my last will and testament, which now is perfect, and find that I am worth £858 clear, which is the greatest sum I ever yet was master of.

February 1st. I hear how two men last night, justling for the wall about the new Exchange, did kill one another, each thrusting the other through; one of them of the King's Chapel, one Cave, and the other a retayner of my Lord Generall Middleton's. I to White Hall; where, in the Duke's chamber, the King come and stayed an hour or two laughing at Sir W. Petty, who was there, about his boat; and at Gresham College in general: at which poor Petty was, I perceive, at some loss; but did argue discreetly, and bear the unreasonable follies of the King's objections and other bystanders with great discretion; and offered to take oddes against the King's best boates: but the King would not lay, but cried him down with words only. Gresham College he mightily laughed at, for spending time only in weighing of ayre, and doing nothing else since they sat. This day, W. Bowyer told me, that his father is dead lately, and died by being drowned in the river, coming over in the night; but he says he had not been drinking. He was taken with his stick in his hand, and cloak over his shoulder, as ruddy as before he died. His horse was taken overnight

in the water, hampered in the bridle, but they were so silly as not to look for his master till the next morning that he was found drowned.

2d. To the 'Change, and thence off to the Sun Taverne with Sir W. Warren. He did give me a pair of gloves for my wife wrapt up in a paper, which I would not open, feeling it hard ; but did tell him that my wife should thank him, and so went on in discourse. When I come home, Lord ! in what pain I was to get my wife out of the room without bidding her go, that I might see what these gloves were ; and, by and by, she being gone, it proves a pair of white gloves for her, and forty pieces in good gold, which did so cheer my heart, that I could eat no victuals almost for dinner. I was at a great loss what to do, whether to tell my wife of it or no, for fear of making her think me to be in a better condition, or in a better way of getting money, than yet I am.

4th. To Paul's School, and up to hear the upper form examined ; and there was kept, by very many of the Mercers, Clutterbucke, Barker, Harrington, and others ; and with great respect used by them all, and had a noble dinner. Here they tell me that, in Dr Colett's will, he says that he would have a Master found for the School that hath good skill in Latin, and, if it could be, one that had some knowledge of the Greeke ; so little was Greeke known here at that time. Dr Wilkins and one Mr Smallwood, Posers.

10th. By coach to my Lord Sandwich, to his new house, a fine house, but deadly dear, in Lincoln's Inne Fields, where I found and spoke a little to him. He is high and strange still, but did ask me how my wife did, and at parting remembering him to his cozen. My wife abroad to buy Lent provisions. I did give my wife's brother 10s. and a coat that I had by me, a close-bodied, light-coloured coat, with a gold edging in each seam, that was the lace of my wife's best pettycoat, that she had when I married her. He is going into Holland to seek his fortune. My pain do leave me without coming to any great excess ; but my cold that I had got I suppose was not very great, it being only the leaving of my waste-coate unbuttoned one morning.

11th. Mr Falconer come and visited my wife, and brought her a present—a silver state-cup and cover, value about three or £4, for the courtesy I did him the other day. I am almost sorry for this present, because I would have reserved him for a place to go in summer a-visiting at Woolwich with my wife.

12th. Called at Alderman Backewell's, and there changed Mr Falconer's state-cup, that he did give us the other day, for a fair tankard. The cup weighed with the fashion £5 16s., and another little cup that Joyce Norton did give us 17s.—both £6 13s.; for which we had a tankard, which come to £6 10s. at 5s. 7d. per oz., and 3s. in money.

13th. To the African House. Anon down to dinner, to a table which Mr Coventry keeps here, out of his £300 per annum as one of the Assistants to the Royall Company, a very pretty dinner, and good company, and excellent discourse. Home with my wife, and saw her day's work in ripping the silk standard, which we brought home last night, and it will serve to line a bed, or for twenty uses, to our great content.

14th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church alone, where a lazy sermon of Mr Mills, upon a text to introduce catechising in our parish, which I perceive he intends to begin.

21st. (Lord's day.) My wife called up the people to washing by four o'clock in the morning; and our little girl Susan is a most admirable slut, and pleases us mightily, doing more service than both the others, and deserves wages better.

23d. (Shrove-Tuesday.) This day, by the blessing of God, I have lived thirty-one years in the world: and, by the grace of God, I find myself not only in good health in every thing, and particularly as to the stone, but only pain upon taking cold, and also in a fair way of coming to a better esteem and estate in the world, than ever I expected. But I pray God give me a heart to fear a fall, and to prepare for it!

24th. (Ash-Wednesday.) To the Queen's chapel, where I staid and saw their masse, till a man come and bid me go out or kneel down: so I did go out. And thence to Somerset House; and there into the chapel, where Monsieur d'Espagne used to preach. But now it is made very fine, and was ten times more crouded than the Queen's chapel at St James's; which I wonder at. Thence down to the garden of Somerset House, and up and down the new building, which, in every respect, will be mighty magnificent and costly.

28th. (Lord's day.) Up, and walked to Paul's; and, by chance, it was an extraordinary day for the Readers of the Inns of Court and all the Students to come to church, it being an old ceremony not used these twenty-five years, upon the first Sunday in Lent.

Abundance there was of Students, more than there was room to seat but upon forms, and the Church mighty full. One Hawkins preached, an Oxford man. A good sermon upon these words : " But the Wisdom from above is first pure, then peaceable." Both before and after sermon, I was most impatiently troubled at the Quire, the worst that ever I heard. But what was extraordinary, the Bishop of London, who sat there in a pew, made a' purpose for him, by the pulpitt, do give the last blessing to the congregation : which was, he being a comely old man, a very decent thing, methought. The Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir J. Robinson, would needs have me by coach home with him, where the officers of his regiment dined with him. I did go and dine with him—his ordinary table being very good, and his lady a very high-carriaged, but comely big woman : I was mightily pleased with her. After dinner, to chapel in the Tower with the Lieutenant, with the keyes carried before us, and the Warders and Gentleman-porter going before us ; and I sat with the Lieutenant in his pew, in great state. None, it seems, of the prisoners in the Tower, that are there now, though they may, will come to prayers there.

[*March*] 15th. My poor brother Tom died. I left my wife to see him laid out, and I by coach home, carrying my brother's papers, all I could find, with me.

18th. Up betimes, and walked to my brother's, where a great while putting things in order against anon ; and so to Wotton, my shoemaker, and there got a pair of shoes blacked on the soles against anon for me : so to my brother's. To church, and, with the grave-maker, chose a place for my brother to lie in, just under my mother's pew. But to see how a man's tombes are at the mercy of such a fellow, that for sixpence he would, as his own words were, " I will justle them together but I will make room for him " ; speaking of the fulness of the middle aisle, where he was to lie ; and that he would, for my father's sake, do my brother, that is dead, all the civility he can ; which was to disturb other corps that are not quite rotten, to make room for him ; and methought his manner of speaking it was very remarkable ; as of a thing that now was in his power to do a man a courtesy or not. I dressed myself, and so did my servant Besse ; and so to my brother's again : whither, though invited, as the custom is, at one or two o'clock, they come not till four or five. But, at last, one after another, they come, many more than I bid : and my reckoning that I bid was

one hundred and twenty ; but I believe there was nearer one hundred and fifty. Their service was six biscuits a-piece, and what they pleased of burnt claret. My cozen Joyce Norton kept the wine and cakes above ; and did give out to them that served, who had white gloves given them. But, above all, I am beholden to Mrs Holden, who was most kind, and did take mighty pains not only in getting the house and every thing else ready, but this day in going up and down to see the house filled and served, in order to mine and their great content, I think : the men sitting by themselves in some rooms, and the women by themselves in others, very close, but yet room enough. Anon to church, walking out into the street to the conduit, and so across the street ; and had a very good company along with the corps. And, being come to the grave as above, Dr Pierson, the minister of the parish, did read the service for buriall : and so I saw my poor brother laid into the grave : and so all broke up ; and I and my wife, and Madam Turner and her family, to her brother's, and by and by fell to a barrell of oysters, cake, and cheese, of Mr Honiwood's, with him, in his chamber and below, being too merry for so late a sad work. But, Lord ! to see how the world makes nothing of the memory of a man, an hour after he is dead ! And, indeed, I must blame myself ; for, though at the sight of him dead and dying, I had real grief for a while, while he was in my sight, yet presently after, and ever since, I have had very little grief indeed for him.

19th. My wife and I alone, having a good hen, with eggs, to dinner, with great content. Then to my brother's, where I spent the afternoon in paying some of the charges of the buriall.

26th. My wife found her gown come home laced, which is indeed very handsome, but will cost me a great deal of money, more than ever I intended, but is but for once.

30th. To Sir G. Carteret's, where my Lady made us drink our morning draught of several wines : I drank nothing but some of her coffee, which was poorly made, with a little sugar in it.

[April] 7th. To the 'Change, where everybody expects a war. Thence to dinner, where my wife got me a pleasant French fricasee of veale.

8th. Sir W. Batten and I to the alms'-house, to see the new building which he, with some ambition, is building of there, during his being Master of Trinity House ; and a good work it is. Home to the only Lenten supper I have had of wiggs and ale.

10th. (Lord's day.) My wife dressed herself, it being Easter-day, but I, not being so well as to go out, she, though much against her will, staid at home with me; for she had put on her new best gown, which indeed is very fine now with the lace; and this morning her taylor brought home her other new-laced silk gown with a smaller lace, and new petticoat I bought the other day: both very pretty. We spent the day in pleasant talk and company one with another, reading in Dr Fuller's book what he says of the family of the Cliffords and Kingsmills.

17th. (Lord's day.) Up, and I put on my best cloth black suit and my velvet cloak, and with my wife in her best laced suit to Church, where we have not been these nine or ten weeks. A young simple fellow did preach: slept soundly all the sermon. Our parson, Mr Mills, his own mistake in reading of the service, was very remarkable—that instead of saying "We beseech thee to preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth," he cries, "Preserve to our use our gracious Queen Katherine!"

19th. To the Physique Garden in St James's Parke; where I first saw orange trees, and other fine trees.

20th. Mr Coventry told me how the Committee for Trade have received now all the complaints of the merchants against the Dutch, and were resolved to report very highly the wrongs they have done us, when, God knows! it is only our own negligence and laziness that hath done us the wrong: and this to be made to the House to-morrow.

22d. I was called up this morning before four o'clock. It was full light enough to dress myself, and so by water against tide, it being a little coole, to Greenwich; and thence, only that it was somewhat foggy till the sun got to some height, walked with great pleasure to Woolwich, in my way staying several times to listen to the nightingales. Thence home, and by coach to Mrs Turner's, and there, after reading part of a good play, Mrs The., my wife, and I, in their coach to Hide Parke, where great plenty of gallants, and pleasant it was, only for the dust. Here I saw Mrs Bendy, my Lady Spillman's fair daughter that was, who continues yet very handsome. Many others I saw with great content, and so home. I did also carry them into St James's Parke, and showed them the garden.

[May] 5th. My eyes beginning every day to grow less and less able to bear with long reading or writing, though it be by daylight; which I never observed till now.

8th. (Lord's day.) This day, my new tailor, Mr Langford, brought me home a new black cloth suit and cloak lined with silk moyre.

9th. To my Lady Sandwich's, who, good Lady, is now, thanks be to God ! so well as to sit up, and sent to us, if we were not afraid to come up to her. So we did ; but she was mightily against my wife's coming so near her ; though, poor wretch ! she is as well as ever she was, as to the meazles, and nothing can I see upon her face. There we sat talking with her above three hours, till six o'clock, of several things, with great pleasure, and so away.

13th. Up before three o'clock, and a little after upon the water, it being very light as at noon, and a bright sun-rising ; but by and by a rainbow appeared, the first that ever in a morning I saw.

16th. With Mr Pierce, the surgeon, to see an experiment of killing a dog, by letting opium into his hind-leg. He and Dr Clerke did fail mightily in hitting the vein, and in effect did not do the business after many trials ; but, with the little they got in the dog did presently fall asleep, and so lay till we cut him up, and a littledog also, which they put it down his throat—he also staggered first, and then fell asleep, and so continued. Whether he recovered or no, after I was gone, I know not.

18th. A pretty cabinet sent me by Mr Shales, which I give my wife, and very conveniently it comes for her closet.

19th. To a Committee of Tangier ; where God forgive how our Report of my Lord Peterborough's accounts was read over and agreed to by the Lords, without one of them understanding it ! And, had it been what it would, it had gone : and, besides, not one thing touching the King's profit in it minded or hit upon.

22d. (Lord's day.) To White Hall. Here the Duke of York called me to him, to ask me whether I did intend to go with him to Chatham or no. I told him if he commanded, but I did believe there would be business here for me, and so he told me then it would be better to stay. After staying, and seeing the throng of people to attend the King to Chapel, but, Lord ! what a company of sad, idle people they are.

23d. The King is gone down with the Duke and a great crew this morning by break of day to Chatham.

24th. This day I heard that my uncle Fenner is dead, which makes me a little sad, to see with what speed a great many

of my friends are gone, and more, I fear, for my father's sake, are going.

25th. This afternoon come Tom and Charles Pepys by my sending for, and received of me £40 in part towards their £70 legacy of my uncle's.

26th. Carried my wife to the Old Bayly, and there we were led to the Quest House, by the Church, where all the kindred were by themselves at the burial of my uncle Fenner; but, Lord! what a pitiful rout of people there was of them, but very good service, and great company the whole was. And so anon to Church, and a good sermon, and so home.

27th. To comfort my heart, Captain Taylor this day brought me £20 he promised me, for my assistance to him about his masts.

[June] 2d. To a Committee of Tangier about providing provisions, money, and men; but it is strange to see how poorly and brokenly things are done of the greatest consequence, and how soon the memory of this great man is gone, or, at least, out of mind by the thoughts of who goes next, which is not yet known. My Lord of Oxford, Muskerry, and several others, are discoursed of. It seems my Lord Teviott's design was to go a mile and half out of the town, to cut down a wood in which the enemy did use to lie in ambush. He had sent several spies; but all brought word that the way was clear, and so might be for anybody's discovery of an enemy before you are upon them. There they were all snapt, he and all his officers, and about two hundred men, as they say; there being left now in the garrison but four captains. This happened the 3d of May last, being not before that day twelvemonth of his entering into his government there: but, at his going out in the morning, he said to some of his officers, "Gentlemen, let us look to ourselves, for it was this day three years that so many brave Englishmen were knocked on the head by the Moores, when Fines made his sally out."

3d. At the Committee for Tangier all the afternoon—the Duke of York and Mr Coventry, for ought I see, being the only two that do anything like men; Prince Rupert do nothing but swear and laugh, with an oath or two.

6th. By barge with Sir W. Batten to Trinity House. Here were my Lord Sandwich, Mr Coventry, my Lord Craven, and others. A great dinner and good company. Mr Prin, also, who would not drink any health, no, not the King's, but sat down with

his hat on all the while; but nobody took notice of it to him at all.

11th. With my wife only to take the ayre, it being very warm and pleasant, to Bowe and Old Ford: and thence to Hackney. There light, and played at shuffle-board, eat cream and good cherries: and so with good refreshment home.

13th. Spent the whole morning reading of some old Navy books; wherein the order that was observed in the Navy then, above what it is now, is very observable. Mr Coventry did talk of a History of the Navy of England, how fit it were to be writ; and he did say that it hath been in his mind to propose to me the writing of the History of the late Dutch war, which I am glad to hear, it being a thing I much desire, and sorts mightily with my genius; and, if done well, may recommend me much. So he says he will get me an order for making of searches to all records, &c., in order thereto, and I shall take great delight in doing of it.

24th. To the City granarys, where, it seems, every company have their granary, and obliged to keep such a quantity of corne always there, or, at a time of scarcity, to issue it at so much a bushell: and a fine thing it is to see their stores of all sorts, for piles for the bridge, and for pipes. To White Hall; and Mr Pierce showed me the Queen's bed-chamber, and her closet, where she had nothing but some pretty pious pictures, and books of devotion; and her holy water at her head as she sleeps, with a clock by her bed-side, wherein a lamp burns that tells her the time of the night at any time. Thence with him to the Park, and there met the Queen coming from Chapell, with her Maids of Honour, all in silver-lace gowns again; which is new to me, and that which I did not think would have been brought up again. Thence he carried me to the King's closet: where such variety of pictures, and other things of value and rarity, that I was properly confounded, and enjoyed no pleasure in the sight of them; which is the only time in my life that ever I was so at a loss for pleasure, in the greatest plenty of objects to give it me.

28th. Put on a half shirt first this summer, it being very hot; and yet so ill-tempered I am grown, that I am afraid I shall catch cold, while all the world is afraid to melt away. To the Mitre, and there comes Dr Burnett to us; and there I begun to have his advice about my disease, and then invited him to my house; and I am resolved to put myself into his hands.

29th. Mr Shepley tells me how my brave dog I did give him, going out betimes one morning, to Huntingdon, was set upon by five other dogs, and worried to pieces, of which I am a little, and he the most sorry I ever saw man for such a thing.

30th. By water to Woolwich, and walked back from Woolwich to Greenwich all alone; saw a man that had a cudgell in his hand, and, though he told me he laboured in the King's yard, and many other good arguments that he is an honest man, yet, God forgive me! I did doubt he might knock me on the head behind with his club. But I got safe home. Great doubts yet whether the Dutch war go on or no. The Fleet ready in the Hope, of twelve sail. The King and Queen go on board, they say, on Saturday next.

July 1st. Upon the 'Change, this day, I saw how uncertain the temper of the people is, that, from our discharging about 200 that lay idle, having nothing to do, upon some of our ships, which were ordered to be fitted for service, and their works are now done, the town do talk that the King discharges all his men—200 yesterday, and 800 to-day—and that now he hath got £100,000 in his hand, he values not a Dutch war. But I undeceived a great many, telling them how it is.

3d. (Lord's day.) At noon, to dinner, where the remains of yesterday's venison, and a couple of brave green geese, which we are fain to eat alone, because they will not keep, which troubled us. Thundering and lightning all the evening, and this year have had the most thunder and lightning, they say, of any in man's memory, and so it is, it seems, in France, and everywhere.

4th. This day the King and the Queen went to visit my Lord Sandwich and the fleet, going forth in the Hope.

6th. Up very betimes, and my wife also, and got us ready; and, about eight o'clock, having got some bottles of wine and beer, and neat's tongues, we went to our barge at the Tower, where Mr Pierce and his wife, and a kinswoman and his sister, and Mrs Clerke and her sister and cozen, were to expect us; and so set out for the Hope, all the way down playing at cards, and other sports, spending our time pretty merry. Come to the Hope about one, and there showed them all the ships, and had a collation of anchovies, gammon, &c., and, after an hour's stay or more, embarked again for home; and so to cards, and other sports, till we come to Greenwich, and there Mrs Clerke, and my wife and I,

on shore, to an alehouse, and so to the barge again, having shown them the King's pleasure-boat : and so home to the Bridge, bringing night home with us ; so to the Tower wharf, and home, being very well pleased to-day with the company, especially Mrs Pierce, who continues her complexion as well as ever, and hath at this day, I think, the best complexion that ever I saw on any woman, young or old, or child either, all days of my life. Also, Mrs Clerke's kinswoman sings very prettily, but is very confident in it—Mrs Clerke herself witty, but spoils all in being so conceited, and making so great a flutter with a few fine clothes, and some bad tawdry things worn with them. The reason of Dr Clerke's not being here was, the King being sick last night, and let blood, and so he durst not come away to-day.

11th. Not being very well, I betimes to bed.

About eleven o'clock, knowing what money I have in the house, and hearing a noise, I begun to sweat worse and worse, till I melted almost to water. I rung, and could not in half an hour make either of the wenches hear me; and this made me fear the more, lest they might be gag'd ; and then I begun to think that there was some design in a stone being flung at the window over our stairs this evening, by which the thieves meant to try what looking there would be after them, and know our company. These thoughts and fears I had, and do hence apprehend the fears of all rich men that are covetous, and have much money by them. At last, Jane rose, and then I understand it was only the dog wants a lodging, and so made a noyse.

18th. To my Lord's, and there took my leave of him, he seeming very friendly to me in as serious a manner as ever in his life. He sets out this morning for Deale. Sir G. Carteret and I did talk together in the Parke about my Lord Chancellor's business of the timber ; he telling me freely that my Lord Chancellor was never so angry with him in all his life as he was for this business, and in a great passion ; and that, when he saw me there, he knew what it was about. And plots now with me how we may serve my Lord, which I am mightily glad of : and I hope together we may do it. Thence home, and Creed with me, and there he took occasion to own his obligations to me, and did lay down twenty pieces in gold upon my shelf in my closet, which I did not refuse, but wish and expected should have been more. Now I am out of expectation, and shall henceforward know how to deal with him.

21st. This morning to the office. Comes Nicholas Osborne, Mr Gauden's clerk, to desire of me what piece of plate I would choose to have of £100, or thereabouts, bestowed upon me, he having order to lay out so much; and, out of his freedom with me, do of himself come to make this question. I a great while urged my unwillingness to take any, not knowing how I could serve Mr Gauden, but left it wholly to himself: so at noon I find brought home in fine leather cases a pair of the noblest flaggons that ever I saw all the days of my life; whether I shall keep them or no I cannot tell; for it is to oblige me to him in the business of the Tangier victualling, wherein I doubt I shall not; but glad I am to see that I shall be sure to get something on one side or other, have it which will: so, with a merry heart, I looked upon them, and locked them up.

25th. No news, only the plague is very hot still, and encreases among the Dutch.

[August] 2d. To the King's play-house, and there saw *Bartholomew Fayre*, which do still please me; and is, as it is acted, the best comedy in the world, I believe. I chanced to sit by Tom Killigrew, who tells me that he is setting up a Nursery [for actors]; that is, is going to build a house in Moorefields, wherein he will have common plays acted. But four operas it shall have in the year, to act six weeks at a time: where we shall have the best scenes and machines, the best musique and every thing as magnificent as is in Christendome; and to that end, hath sent for voices and painters and other persons from Italy. Thence homeward called upon my Lord Marlborough.

4th. To a play at the King's house, *The Rivall Ladys*, a very innocent and most pretty witty play. I was much pleased with it, and, it being given me, I look upon it as no breach of my oath. Here we hear that Clun, one of their best actors, was, the last night, going out of towne, after he had acted the Alchymist, wherein was one of his best parts that he acts, to his country-house, set upon and murdered; one of the rogues taken, an Irish fellow. It seems most cruelly butchered and bound. The house will have a great miss of him.

7th. (Lord's day.) My wife telling me sad stories of the ill, improvident, disquiet, and sluttish manner, that my father and mother and Pall do live in the country, which troubles me mightily, and I must seek to remedy it. Showed my wife, to her great

admiration and joy, Mr Gauden's present of plate, the two flaggons, which indeed are so noble that I hardly can think that they are yet mine. I saw several poor creatures carried by, by constables, for being at a conventicle. They go like lambs, without any resistance. I would to God they would either conform, or be more wise, and not be caught !

8th. After dinner, to hang up my five pictures in my dining-room, which makes it very pretty, and so my wife and I abroad to the King's play-house.

10th. Abroad to find out one to engrave my tables upon my new sliding rule with silver plates, it being so small, that Browne, that made it, cannot get one to do it. So I got Cocker, the famous writing-master, to do it, and I set an hour by him to see him design it all ; and strange it is to see him, with his natural eyes, to cut so small at his first designing it, and read it all over, without any missing, when for my life I could not, with my best skill, read one word, or letter of it ; but it is use.

11th. Comes Cocker, with my rule, which he hath engraved to admiration, for goodness and smallness of work : it cost me 14s. the doing.

13th. Comes Mr Reeve, with a microscope and scotoscope. For the first I did give him £5 10s., a great price, but a most curious bauble it is, and he says, as good, nay, the best he knows in England. The other he gives me, and is of value ; and a curious curiosity it is to discover objects in a dark room with. Mr Creed dining with me, I got him to give my wife and me a play this afternoon, lending him money to do it, which is a fallacy that I have found now once, to avoid my vowe with, but never to be more practised, I swear.

16th. Wakened about two o'clock this morning with a noise of thunder, which lasted for an hour, with such continued lightnings, not flashes, but flames, that all the sky and ayre was light ; and that for a great while, not a minute's space between new flames all the time : such a thing as I never did see, nor could have believed had even been in nature. And being put into a great sweat with it, could not sleep till all was over. And that accompanied with such a storm of rain as I never heard in my life. I expected to find my house in the morning overflowed ; but I find not one drop of rain in my house, nor any news of hurt done.

[September] 3d. I have had a bad night's rest to-night, not sleeping well, as my wife observed; and I thought myself to be mightily bit with fleas, and in the morning she chid her maids for not looking the fleas a' days. But, when I rose, I found that it is only the change of the weather from hot to cold, which, as I was two winters ago, do stop my pores, and so my blood tingles and itches all day, all over my body.

11th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church in the best manner I have gone a good while—that is to say, with my wife, and her woman, Mercer, along with us, and Tom, my boy, waiting on us. A dull sermon.

12th. Up, and to my cozen Anthony Joyce's, and there took leave of my Aunt James, and both cozens, their wives, who are this day going down to my father's by coach. I did give my aunt 20s., to carry as a token to my mother, and 10s. to Pall. With the Duke; and saw him with great pleasure play with his little girle, like an ordinary private father of a child. To Mr Creed's lodgings, talking mightily of the convenience and necessity of a man's wearing good clothes, after eating a mess of creame.

13th. To Fishmongers' Hall, where we met the first time upon the Fishery Committee, and many good things discoursed of, concerning making of farthings, which was proposed as a way of raising money for this business, and then that of lottery's, but with great confusion; but I hope we shall fall into greater order.

16th. Met Mr Pargiter, and he would needs have me drink a cup of horse-radish ale, which he and a friend of his, troubled with the stone, have been drinking of, which we did, and then walked into the fields as far almost as Sir G. Whitmore's, all the way talking of Russia, which, he says, is a sad place; and, though Moscow is a very great city, yet it is from the distance between house and house, and few people compared with this, and poor, sorry houses, the Emperor himself living in a wooden house; his exercise only flying a hawke at pigeons, and carrying pigeons ten or twelve miles off, and then laying wagers which pigeon shall come soonest home to her house. All the winter within doors, some few playing at chesse, but most drinking their time away. Women live very slavishly there, and, it seems, in the Emperor's court, no room hath above two or three windows, and those the greatest not a yard wide or high, for warmth in winter time, and that the general cure for all diseases there is their sweating-houses;

or, people that are poor, they get into their ovens, being heated, and there lie. Little learning among them of any sort. Not a man that speaks Latin, unless the Secretary of State by chance. Old Hardwicke come, and redeemed a watch he had left with me in pawn for 40s. seven years ago, and I let him have it.

18th. (Lord's day.) Last night, my aunt Wight did send my wife a new scarfe, laced, as a token for her many givings to her; but my aime is to get myself something more from my uncle's favour than this.

19th. My wife having put on, to-day, her winter new suit of moyre, which is handsome, after dinner I did give her £15, to lay out in linen and necessaries for the house, and to buy a suit for Pall.

20th. Met Captain Poyntz, who hath some place, or title to a place, belonging to gameing. I discoursed with him about our business of improving of the Lotterys, for the King's benefit, and that of the Fishery, and had some light from him in the business. I find, with great delight, that I am come to my good temper of business again. God continue me in it!

22d. Home to bed; having got a strange cold in my head, by flinging off my hat at a dinner, and sitting with the wind in my neck.

30th. At my accounts, it being a great month, both for profit and layings out—the last being £89 for kitchen, and clothes for myself and wife, and a few extraordinaries for the house; and my profits, beside salary, £239; so that I have this week, notwithstanding great layings out, and preparations for laying out, which I make as paid this month, my balance to come to £1203.

[October] 2d. (Lord's day.) Walked with my boy through the city, putting in at several churches, among others at Bishopsgate, and there saw the picture usually put before the King's book, put up in the church, but very ill painted, though it were a pretty piece to set up in a church. I intended to have seen the Quakers, who, they say, do meet every Lord's day at the Mouth, at Bishopsgate; but I could see none stirring, nor was it fit to ask for the place; so I walked over Moorefields, and thence to Clerkenwell Church, and there, as I wished, sat next pew to the fair Butler, who indeed is a most perfect beauty still; and one I do very much admire myself for my choice of her, for a beauty, having the best lower part of her face that ever I saw all days of my life. So away back to Clerkenwell Church, and so we walked all over the fields

home, and there my wife was angry with me for not coming home, and for gadding abroad to look after beauties.

3d. With Sir J. Minnes, by coach, to St James's; and there all the news now of very hot preparations for the Dutch: and, being with the Duke, he told us he was resolved to take a tripp himself, and that Sir W. Pen shou'd go in the same ship with him. Which honour, God forgive me! I could grudge him, for his knavery and dissimulation, though I do not envy much the having the same place myself. Talk also of great haste in the getting out another fleet, and building some ships; and now it is likely we have put one another's dalliance past a retreat.

4th. This morning Sir W. Pen went to Chatham to look after the ships now going out thence, and particularly that wherein the Duke and himself go.

7th. Come Mr Cocker, and brought me a globe of glasse and a frame of oyled paper, as I desired, to show me the manner of his gaining light to grave by, and to lessen the glaringness of it at pleasure by an oyled paper. This I bought of him, giving him a crowne for it; and so, well satisfied, he went away.

9th. (Lord's day.) Mr Fuller, my Cambridge acquaintance, coming, he told me he was to preach at Barking Church, and so I to hear him, and he preached well and neatly. To bed without prayers, it being cold, and to-morrow washing day.

13th. Taking leave of my wife, I by coach to the Red Lyon in Aldersgate Streete, and there, by agreement, met W. Joyce and Tom Trice, and mounted—I upon a very fine mare that Sir W. Warren helps me to—and so very merrily rode till it was very dark, I leading the way through the dark to Welling, and there to supper and to bed. But very bad accommodation at the Swan. In my way to Brampton, in this day's journey, I met with Mr White, Cromwell's chaplain that was, and had a great deal of discourse with him. Among others, he tells me that Richard is, and hath long been, in France, and is now going into Italy. He owns publicly that he do correspond with him, and return him all his money. That Richard hath been in some straits in the beginning; but relieved by his friends. That he goes by another name, but do not disguise himself, nor deny himself to any man that challenges him. When I told him of what I found writ in a French book of one Monsieur Sorbière that gives an account of his observations here in England; among other things, he says, that it is reported that

Cromwell did, in his life-time, transpose many of the bodies of the kings of England from one grave to another, and that, by that means, it is not known certainly whether the head that is now set up upon a post be that of Cromwell, or of one of the Kings; Mr White tells me that he believes he never had so poor a low thought in him to trouble himself about it. He says the hand of God is much to be seen; that all his children are in good condition enough as to estate, and that their relations that betrayed their family are all now either hanged or very miserable.

14th. Up by break of day, and got to Brampton by three o'clock, where my father and mother overjoyed to see me, my mother ready to weep every time she looked upon me. To the [Manorial] Court, and there did all our business to my mind. So home, and after supper I to bed.

15th. My father and I up, and walked alone to Hinchingbroke; and, among the late chargeable works that my Lord hath done there, we saw his water-works, which are very fine; and so is the house all over, but I am sorry to think of the money at this time spent therein. Taking leave, W. Joyce and I set out, calling T. Price at Bugden, and got by night to Stevenage, and there mighty merry, though I in bed, more weary than the other two days, which, I think, proceeded from our galloping so much; but I find that a coney skin in my breeches preserves me perfectly from galling.

16th. (Lord's day.) It raining, we set out betimes, and about nine o'clock got to Hatfield in church-time; and I 'light, and saw my simple Lord Salisbury sit there in the gallery. To Barnett, and there dined at the Red Lyon; thence home by four o'clock, weary, but very well.

19th. Weighed my two silver flaggons at Stevens's. They weigh 212 oz., 27 dwt., which is about £50, at 5s. per oz.: and then they judge the fashion to be worth about 5s. per oz. more; nay, some say 10s. an ounce the fashion. Sorry to see that the fashion is worth so much, and the silver come to no more.

20th. Took two silver tumblers home, which I have bought.

21st. To Sir W. Turner's, and there bought my cloth, coloured, for a suit and cloak, to line with plush. I find that I must go handsomely, whatever its costs me, and the charge will be made up in the fruits it brings. Comes Mr Martin, to trouble me again to get him a Lieutenant's place, for which he is as fit as a fool can be. But I put him off like an asse, as he is.

26th. My people rising mighty betimes, to fit themselves to go by water ; and my boy, he could not sleep, but wakes about four o'clock, and in bed lay playing on his lute till daylight, and, it seems, did the like last night till twelve o'clock. About eight o'clock, my wife and her woman, and Bessy and Jane, and W. Hewer and the boy, to the water-side, and there took boat, and by and by I out of doors, to look after the flaggon, to get it ready to carry to Woolwich. By and by, the flaggon being finished at the burnisher's, I home, and there fitted myself, and took a hackney-coach I hired, it being a very cold and foule day, to Woolwich, all the way reading in a good book touching the fishery, and that being done, in the book upon the statute of charitable uses, mightily to my satisfaction. At Woolwich ; I there up to the King and Duke. Here I staid above with them while the ship was launched, which was done with great success ; and the King did very much like the ship, saying, she had the best bow that ever he saw. But, Lord ! the sorry talk and discourse among the great courtiers round about him, without any reverence in the world, but with so much disorder. By and by the Queen comes and her Maids of Honour ; one whereof, Mrs Boyton, and the Duchess of Buckingham had been very sick coming by water in the barge, the water being very rough ; but what silly sport they made with them in very common terms, methought, was very poor, and below what people think these great people say and do. The launching being done, the King and company went down to take barge ; and I sent for Mr Pett, and put the flaggon into the Duke's hand, and he, in the presence of the King, did give it Mr Pett, taking it upon his knee. This Mr Pett is wholly beholding to me for, and he do know, and I believe will acknowledge it. Going out of the gate, an ordinary woman prayed me to give her room to London, which I did, but spoke not to her all the way, but read as long as I could see my book again. Dark when we come to London, and a stop of coaches in Southwarke. Into the Beare, at the bridge-foot, to Sir W. Batten. Presently the stop is removed, and there going out to find my coach, I could not find it : so I fain to go through the dark and dirt over the bridge, and my leg fell in a hole broke on the bridge, but, the constable standing there to keep people from it, I was catched up, otherwise I had broke my leg : for which mercy the Lord be praised ! So home, where the little girl hath looked to the house well, but

no wife come home, which made me begin to fear for her, the water being very rough, and cold and dark. But by and by she and her company come in all well, at which I was glad, though angry. The City did last night very freely lend the King £100,000, without any security but the King's word, which was very noble.

27th. At noon, Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, Sir W. Pen, and myself, were treated at the Dolphin, by Mr Foly, the ironmonger, where a good plain dinner, but I expected musique, the missing of which spoiled my dinner, only very good merry discourse at dinner. -2

28th. My tailor brings me home my fine, new, coloured-cloth suit, my cloak lined with plush—as good a suit as ever I wore in my life, and mighty neat, to my great content.

29th. Up, and it being my Lord Mayor's show, my boy and three maids went out; but, it being a very foul, rainy day, from morning till night, I was sorry my wife let them go out. All the talk is that De Ruyter is come over-land home with six or eight of his captains to command here at home, and their ships kept abroad in the Streights: which sounds as if they had a mind to do something with us.

30th. (Lord's day.) Put on my new, fine, coloured cloth suit, with my cloak lined with plush, which is a dear and noble suit, costing me about £17.

[November] 5th. To the Duke's house, to see *Macbeth*, a pretty good play, but admirably acted. Thence home; the coach being forced to go round by London Wall home, because of the bonfires; the day being mightily observed in the City.

6th. (Lord's day.) Up, and with my wife to church. Dined at home. At night, to supper with my uncle Wight, where very merry, and so home. To prayers and to bed.

9th. Called up, as I had appointed, between two and three o'clock. I and my boy Tom by water with a gally down to the Hope, it being a fine starry night. Got thither by eight o'clock, and there, as expected, found the *Charles*, her mainmast setting. Commissioner Pett aboard. I up and down to see the ship I was so well acquainted with, and a great work it is, the setting so great a mast. Thence the Commissioner and I on board Sir G. Ascue, in the *Henry*, who lacks men mightily, which makes me think that there is more believed to be in a man that hath heretofore been

employed than truly there is ; for one would never have thought, a month ago, that he would have wanted 1000 men at his heels. Nor do I think he hath much of a seaman in him : for he told me, says he, " Heretofore, we used to find our ships clear and ready, everything to our hands in the Downes. Now I come, and must look to see things done like a slave—things that I never minded, nor cannot look after." And by his discourse I find that he hath not minded anything in her at all. To White Hall, and there the King being in his Cabinet Council, I desiring to speak with Sir G. Carteret, I was called in, and demanded by the King himself many questions, to which I did give him full answers. There were at this Council my Lord Chancellor, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Treasurer, the two Secretarys, and Sir G. Carteret. Not a little contented at this chance of being made known to these persons, and called often by my name by the King. The Duke of York is this day gone away to Portsmouth.

20th. (Lord's day.) Up, and with my wife to Church, where Pegg Pen very fine in her new coloured silk suit laced with silver lace.

21st. This day, for certain, news is come that Teddiman hath brought in eighteen or twenty Dutchmen, merchants, their Bourdeaux fleet, and two men of war to Portsmouth. And I had letters this afternoon, that three are brought into the Downes and Dover ; so that the war is begun : God give a good end to it!

24th. To a coffee-house, to drink Jocolatte—very good ; and so by coach to Westminster, being the first day of the Parliament's meeting. After the House had received the King's speech, and what more he had to say, delivered in writing, the Chancellor being sick, it rose.

[December] 3d. The Duke of York is expected to-night with great joy from Portsmouth, after his having been abroad at sea three or four days with the fleet : and the Dutch are all drawn into their harbours. But it seems like a victory ; and a matter of some reputation to us it is, and blemish to them ; but in no degree like what it is esteemed at, the weather requiring them to do so.

4th. (Lord's day.) This day I hear the Duke of York is come to town, though expected last night, as I observed, but by what hindrance stopped, I can't tell.

7th. By coach to my Lady Sandwich's, and there dined with her, and found all well and merry. Thence to White Hall, and

we waited on the Duke, who looks better than he did, methinks, before his voyage; and, I think, a little more stern than he used to do. Povy and Creed staid and eat with me; but I was sorry I had no better cheer for Povy; for the fool may be useful, and is a cunning fellow in his way, though a strange one, and that, that I meet not in any other man, nor can describe in him.

9th. This day I had several letters from several places, of our bringing in great numbers of Dutch ships.

14th. To my bookseller's, and there spoke for several books against new year's day, I resolving to lay out about £7 or £8: and bespoke also some plate spoons and forks.

15th. This night I begun to burn wax candles in my closet at the office, to try the charge, and to see whether the smoke offends like that of tallow candles.

16th. Bought a looking-glass by the Old Exchange, which costs me £5 5s., and 6s. for the hooks. A very fair glass.

17th. Mighty talk there is of this Comet that is seen a'nights: and the King and Queen did sit up last night to see it, and did, it seems. And to-night I thought to have done so too: but it is cloudy, and so no stars appear. But I will endeavour it. Mr Grey did tell me to-night, for certain, that the Dutch, as high as they seem, do begin to buckle; and that one man in this Kingdom did tell the King that he is offered £40,000 to make a peace, and others have been offered money also. It seems the taking of their Bourdeaux fleet thus, arose from a printed Gazette of the Dutch's boasting of fighting, and having beaten the English: in confidence whereof, it coming to Bourdeaux, all the fleet comes out, and so falls into our hands.

18th. (Lord's day.) After supper, Mr Fuller, the parson, and I, told many stories of apparitions and delusions thereby, and I out with my stories of Tom Mallard; and then to prayers and to bed.

31st. To my accounts of the whole year till past twelve at night, it being bitter cold, but yet I was well satisfied with my work; and above all, to find myself, by the great blessing of God, worth £1349, by which, as I have spent very largely, so I have laid up above £500 this year above what I was worth this day twelve month. The Lord make me for ever thankful to his holy name for it! Soon as ever the clock struck one, I kissed my wife in the kitchen by the fireside, wishing her a merry new year.

So ends the old year, I bless God, with great joy to me, not

only from my having made so good a year of profit, as having spent £420 and laid up £540, and upwards; but I bless God I never have been in so good plight as to my health in so very cold weather as this is, nor indeed in any hot weather, these ten years, as I am at this day, and have been these four or five months. But I am at a great loss to know whether it be my hare's foote, or taking every morning of a pill of turpentine, or my having left off the wearing of a gowne. My credit in the world and my office grows daily, and I am in good esteem with everybody, I think. My troubles of my uncle's estate pretty well over; but it comes to be of little profit to us, my father being much supported by my purse. But great vexations remain upon my father and me from my brother Tom's death and ill condition, both to our disgrace and discontent, though no great reason for either. Public matters are all in a hurry about a Dutch war. Our preparations great; our provocations against them great; and, after all our presumption, we are now afraid as much of them as we lately contemned them. Every thing else in the State quiet, blessed be God! My Lord Sandwich at sea with the fleete, at Portsmouth; sending some about to cruise for taking of ships, which we have done to a great number. This Christmas I judged it fit to look over all my papers and books, and to tear all that I found either boyish or not to be worth keeping, or fit to be seen, if it should please God to take me away suddenly.

1664-65

January 1st. (Lord's day.) This day I am dividing my expense, to see what my clothes and every particular hath stood me in: I mean all the branches of my expense. At noon a good venison-pasty and a turkey to ourselves, without any body so much as wished by us, a thing unusuall for so small a family of my condition: but we did it, and were very merry.

6th. At night home, being twelfthnight, and there chose my piece of cake, but went up to my viall, and then to bed, leaving my wife and people up at their sports, which they continue till morning, not coming to bed at all.

9th. Walked to White Hall. In my way saw a woman that broke her thigh, by her heels slipping up upon the frosty street.

I saw the Royal Society bring their new book, wherein is nobly writ their charter and laws, and comes to be signed by the Duke as a Fellow; and all the Fellows are to be entered there, and lie as a monument; and the King hath put his, with the word Founder.

11th. This evening, by a letter from Plymouth, I hear that two of our ships, the *Leopard* and another, in the Streights, are lost by running aground; and that three more had like to have been so, but got off; whereof Captain Allen one: and that a Dutch fleete are gone thither; and if they should meet with our lame ships, God knows what would become of them. This I reckon most sad news; God make us sensible of it! When I come home, I was much troubled to hear my poor canary-bird, that I have kept these three or four years, was dead.

24th. The Dutch have, by consent of all the Provinces, voted no trade to be suffered for eighteen months, but that they apply themselves wholly to the war. Home to supper, having a great cold, got on Sunday last, by sitting too long with my head bare, for Mercer to comb and wash my eares.

25th. Dined upon a hare pye, very good meat.

30th. This is solemnly kept as a fast all over the City, but I kept my house, putting my closet to rights again. To my office, and, being late at it, comes Mercer to me, to tell me that my wife was in bed, and desired me to come home; for they hear, and have, night after night, lately heard noises over their head upon the leads. Now, knowing that I have a great sum of money in my house, this puts me into a most mighty affright, that for more than two hours, I could not almost tell what to do or say, but feared this night, and remembered that this morning I saw a woman and two men stand suspiciously in the entry, in the dark; I calling to them, they made me only this answer, the woman saying that the men came to see her; but who she was I could not tell. The truth is, my house is mighty dangerous, having so many ways to be come to; and at my windows, over the stairs, to see who goes up and down; but, if I escape to-night, I will remedy it. God preserve us this night safe! So, at almost two o'clock, I home to my house, and, in great fear, to bed, thinking every running of a mouse really a thief; and so to sleep, very brokenly, all night long, and found all safe in the morning.

[February] 7th. At home at dinner. It being Shrove Tuesday, had some very good fritters. This day, Sir W. Batten, who hath

been sick four or five days, is now very bad, so as the people begin to fear his death ; and I at a loss whether it will be better for me to have him die, because he is a bad man, or live, for fear a worse should come.

14th. (St Valentine.) This morning comes betimes Dicke Pen, to be my wife's Valentine, and come to our bedside. By the same token, I had him brought to my side, thinking to have made him kiss me ; but he perceived me, and would not ; so went to his Valentine : a notable, stout, witty boy.

March 1st. Being the day that by a promise, a great while ago, made to my wife, I was to give her £20 to lay out in clothes against Easter, I did give it her, and then she abroad to buy her things. To Gresham College, where Mr Hooke read a second very curious lecture about the late Comet ; among other things, proving very probably that this is the very same Comet that appeared before in the year 1618, and that in such a time probably it will appear again, which is a very new opinion ; but all will be in print.

2d. Begun this day to rise betimes before six o'clock, and, going down to call my people, found Besse and the girle with their clothes on, lying within their bedding upon the ground close by the fire-side, and a candle burning all night, pretending they would rise to scoure. But Besse is going, and so she will not trouble me long.

9th. At Paule's school, where I visited Mr Crumlum at his house ; and, Lord ! to see how ridiculous a conceited pedagogue he is, though a learned man, he being so dogmaticall in all he do and says. But, among other discourse, we fell to the old discourse of Paule's Schoole ; and he did, upon my declaring my value of it, give me one of Lilly's grammers of a very old impression, as it was in the Catholique times, which I shall much set by. This night my wife had a new suit of flowered ash-coloured silk, very noble.

10th. At noon to the 'Change, where very hot, people's proposal of the City giving the King another ship for *The London*, that is lately blown up. It would be very handsome, and, if well managed, might be done ; but, I fear, if it be put into ill hands, or that the courtiers do solicit it, it will never be done.

11th. Sir J. Minnes from Lee Roade, where they have been to see the wrecke of *The London*, out of which, they say, the guns may be got, but the hull of her will be wholly lost, as not being capable of being weighed.

12th. (Lord's day.) Borrowing Sir J. Minnes's coach, to my Lord Sandwich's, but he was gone abroad. I sent the coach back for my wife, my Lord a second time dining at home, on purpose to meet me, he having not dined once at home, but those times, since his coming from sea. Down to dinner, where my wife in her new lace whiske, which indeed is very noble, and I am much pleased with it, and so my Lady also. Here very pleasant my Lord was at dinner.

13th. This day my wife begun to wear light-coloured locks, quite white almost, which, though it makes her look very pretty, yet, not being natural, vexes me, that I will not have her wear them.

16th. This afternoon, Mr Harris, the sayle-maker, sent me a noble present of two large silver candlesticks and snuffers, and a slice to keep them upon, which indeed is very handsome.

21st. My taylor coming to me, did consult all my wardrobe, how to order my clothes against next summer. Received a couple of state-caps, very large, coming, I suppose, to about £6 a piece, from Burrows, the slopseller.

[April] 6th. Attended the Duke of Albemarle about the business of money. I also went to Jervas's, my barber, for my periwig that was mending there. Great talk of a new Comet: and it is certain do appear as bright as the late one at the best; but I have not seen it myself.

7th. Sir Philip Warwick did show me nakedly the King's condition for money for the Navy; and he do assure me, unless the King can get some noblemen or rich money-gentleman to lend him money, or to get the City to do it, it is impossible to find money: we having already, as he says, spent one year's share of the three-years' tax, which comes to £2,500,000.

8th. We have lain a good while with a good fleete at Harwich. The Dutch not said yet to be out. We, as high as we make our shew, I am sure, are unable to set out another small fleete, if this should be worsted. Wherefore, God send us peace! I cry.

9th. (Lord's day.) To church with my wife, in the morning, in her new light-coloured silk gown, which is, with her new point, very noble. In the afternoon, to Fenchurch, the little church in the middle of Fenchurch Street, where a very few people, and few of any rank.

12th. To a Committee of Tangier, where, contrary to all expectation, my Lord Ashly, being vexed with Povy's accounts, did

propose it as necessary that Povy should be still continued Treasurer of Tangier till he had made up his accounts ; and with such arguments as, I confess, I was not prepared to answer, but by putting off of the discourse, and so, I think, brought it right again, but it troubled me. Sir G. Carteret, my Lord Brouncker, Sir Thomas Harvy, and myself, down to my Lord Treasurer's chamber to him and the Chancellor, and the Duke of Albemarle ; and there I did give them a large account of the charge of the Navy and want of money. But strange to see how they hold up their hands, crying, "What shall we do?" Says my Lord Treasurer, "Why, what means all this, Mr Pepys? This is all true, you say; but what would you have me to do? I have given all I can for my life. Why will not people lend their money? Why will they not trust the King as well as Oliver? Why do our prizes come to nothing, that yielded so much heretofore?" And this was all we could get, and went away without other answer, which is one of the saddest things that, at such a time as this, with the greatest action on foot that ever was in England, nothing should be minded, but let things go on of themselves, and do as well as they can. So home, vexed, and going to my Lady Batten's, there found a great many women with her, in her chamber merry—my Lady Pen and her daughter, among others, where my Lady Pen flung me down upon the bed, and herself and others, one after another, upon me, and very merry we were.

13th. To Sheriff Waterman's, to dinner, all of us men of the office in town, and our wives, my Lady Carteret and daughters, and Ladies Batten, Pen, and my wife, &c. Very good cheer we had, and merry musique at and after dinner, and a fellow danced a jig; but, when the company begun to dance, I come away, lest I should be taken out; and God knows how my wife carried herself, but I left her to try her fortune.

16th. (Lord's day.) I walked to the Rolls' Chapel, expecting to hear the great Stillingfleet preach, but he did not; but a very sorry fellow, which vexed me. Captain [Silas] Taylor, my old acquaintance at Westminster, supped with me, and a good understanding man he is, and a good schollar; and, among other things, a great antiquary. He can, as he says, show the very originall Charter to Worcester, of King Edgar's, wherein he stiles himself, Rex Marium Britanniae, &c.; which is the great text that Mr Selden and others do quote, but imperfectly and upon trust. But

he hath the very originall, which, he says, he will show me. This night news is come of our taking three Dutch men-of-war, with the loss of one of our Captains.

19th. Up by five o'clock, and by water to White Hall; and there took coach, and with Mr Moore to Chelsey: where, after all my fears what doubts and difficulties my Lord Privy Seale would make at my Tangier Privy Seale, he did pass it at first reading, without my speaking with him: and then called me in, and was very civil to me. And so away home, Creed with me, and there met Povy; and we to Gresham College, where we saw some experiments upon a hen, a dog, and a cat, of the Florence poyson. The first it made for a time drunk, but it come to itself again quickly; the second it made vomit mightily, but no other hurt. The third I did not stay to see the effect of it.

21st. This day we hear that the Duke and the fleete are sailed yesterday. Pray God go along with them, that they have good speed in the beginning of their work.

22d. My wife making great preparation to go to Court to Chapel to-morrow.

23d. (Lord's day.) Mr Povy, according to promise, sent his coach betimes, and I carried my wife and her woman to White Hall chapel, and heard the famous young Stillingfleet, whom I knew at Cambridge, and he is now newly admitted one of the King's chaplains; and was presented, they say, to my Lord Treasurer for St Andrew's, Holborn, where he is now minister, with these words: that they, the Bishops of Canterbury, London, and another, believed he is the ablest young man to preach the Gospel of any since the Apostles. He did make a most plain, honest, good, grave sermon, in the most unconcerned and easy yet substantial manner, that ever I heard in my life, upon the words of Samuel to the people: "Fear the Lord in truth with all your heart, and remember the great things that he hath done for you"; it being proper to this day, the day of the King's Coronation. After dinner, Creed and we by coach took the ayre in the fields beyond St Pancras, it raining now and then, which it seems is most welcome weather. After supper, Creed and I together to bed, in Mercer's bed; and so to sleep.

24th. To the Cockepitt, and there walked an hour with my Lord Duke of Albemarle alone in his garden, where he expressed in great words his opinion of me; that I was the right hand of the

Navy here, nobody but I taking any care of any thing therein ; so that he should not know what could be done without me. At which I was, from him, not a little proud. So by coach with my wife and Mercer to the Park ; but the King being there, and I now-a-days being doubtfull of being seen in any pleasure, did part from the tour, and away out of the Park to Knightsbridge, and there eat and drank in the coach, and so home.

25th. This afternoon, W. Pen, lately come from his father in the fleete, did give me an account how the fleete did sail, about 103 in all, besides small catches, they being in sight of six or seven Dutch scouts, and sent ships in chase of them.

28th. Down the River, to visit the victualling-ships, where I find all out of order. And come home to dinner, and then to write a letter to the Duke of Albemarle about them, and carried it myself to the Council-chamber ; and, when they rose, my Lord Chancellor, passing by, stroked me on the head, and told me that the Board had read my letter, and taken order for the punishing of the watermen for not appearing on board the ships. And so did the King afterwards, who do now know me so well, that he never sees me but he speaks to me about our Navy business.

29th. Troubled in my mind to hear that Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes do take notice that I am now-a-days much from the office, upon no office business ; but what troubles me more is, that I do omit to write, as I should do, to Mr Coventry, which I must not do, though this night I minded it so little as to sleep in the middle of my letter to him, and committed forty blotts and blurrs, but of this I hope never more to be guilty.

30th. (Lord's day.) I with great joy find myself to have gained, this month, above £100 clear, and in the whole to be worth £1400. Thus I end this month in great content as to my estate and gettings : in much trouble as to the pains I have taken, and the rubs I expect to meet with, about the business of Tangier. The fleete, with about 106 ships upon the coast of Holland, in sight of the Dutch, within the Texel. Great fears of the sicknesse here in the City, it being said that two or three houses are already shut up. God preserve us all !

May 1st. I met my Lord Brouncker, Sir Robert Murray, Dean Wilkins, and Mr Hooke, going by coach to Colonel Blunt's to dinner. So they stopped, and took me with them. Landed at the Tower-wharf, and thence by water to Greenwich ; and there

coaches met us : and to his house, a very stately site for situation and brave plantations ; and among others, a vineyard, the first that ever I did see. No extraordinary dinner, nor any other entertainment good ; but afterwards to the tryal of some experiments about making of coaches easy. And several we tried ; but one did prove mighty easy, not here for me to describe, but the whole body of the coach lies upon one long spring, and we all, one after another, rid in it : and it is very fine and likely to take. Thence to Deptford, and in to Mr Evelyn's, which is a most beautiful place ; but, it being dark, and late, I staid not ; but Dean Wilkins, and Mr Hooke and I, walked to Redriffe ; and noble discourse all day long did please me.

3d. To the Inn by Cripplegate, expecting my mother's coming to town, but she is not come this week, the coach being too full. My Lord Chief-Justice Hide did die suddenly this week, a day or two ago, of an apoplexy.

5th. After dinner, to Mr Evelyn's ; he being abroad, we walked in his garden, and a lovely noble ground he hath indeed. And, among other rarities, a hive of bees, so as, being hived in glass, you may see the bees making their honey and combs mighty pleasantly. This day, after I had suffered my own hayre to grow long, in order to wearing it, I find the convenience of perriwigs is so great, that I have cut off all short again, and will keep to perriwigs.

7th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church with my wife. Yesterday begun my wife to learn to limn of one Browne, which Mr Hill helps her to, and by her beginning, upon some eyes, I think she will do very fine things, and I shall take great delight in it.

9th. At noon comes Mrs The. Turner, and dines with us, and my wife's painting-master staid and dined. This day we have news of eight ships being taken by some of ours, going into the Texel—their two men of war, that convoyed, running in. They come from about Ireland, round to the North.

10th. To the Cocke-pitt, where the Duke of Albemarle did give Sir W. Batten and me an account of the late taking of eight ships, and of his intent to come back to the Gunfleete with the fleete presently ; which creates us much work and haste therein, against the fleete comes. And thence to the Guard in Southwarke, there to get some soldiers, by the Duke's order, to go keep pressmen on board our ships.

12th." By water to the Exchequer, and strike my tallys for £17,500, which methinks is so great a testimony of the goodness of God to me, that I, from a mean clerk there, should come to strike tallys myself for that sum, and in the authority that I do now, is a very stupendous mercy to me. But to see how every little fellow looks after his fees, and to get what he can for everything, is a strange consideration. The King's fees that he must pay himself for this £17,500 coming to above £100. After dinner comes my cozen, Thomas Pepys, of Hatcham, to receive some money of my Lord Sandwich's, and then I paid him what was due to him, upon my uncle's score, but, contrary to my expectation, did get him to sign and seal to any sale of lands for payment of debts.

13th. To the 'Change, after office, and received my watch from the watch-maker, and a very fine one it is, given me by Briggs, the scrivener. But, Lord, to see how much of my old folly and childishnesse hangs upon me still, that I cannot forbear carrying my watch in my hand, in the coach, all this afternoon, and seeing what o'clock it is one hundred times, and am apt to think with myself, how could I be so long without one; though I remember, since, I had one, and found it a trouble, and resolved to carry one no more about me while I lived. Troubled at a letter from Mr Cholmly from Tangier, wherein he do advise me how people are at work to overthrow our Victualling business, by which I shall lose £300 per annum. I am much obliged to him for this secret kindness, and look after this.

17th. To Langford's, where I never was since my brother died there. I find my wife and Mercer, having with him agreed upon two rich silk suits for me, which is fit for me to have, but yet the money is too much, I doubt, to lay out altogether; but it is done, and so let it be, it being the expense of the world that I can the best bear with, and the worst spare. The Duchess of York went down yesterday to meet the Duke.

18th. To the Duke of Albemarle, where we did examine Nixon and Stanesby, about their late running from two Dutchmen; for which they were committed to a vessel to carry them to the fleet to be tried. A most fowle unhandsome thing as ever was heard, for plain cowardice on Nixon's part. Thence with the Duke of Albemarle in his coach to my Lord Treasurer, and there was before the King, who ever now calls me by my name, and Lord Chancellor, and many other great Lords, discoursing about insuring

some of the King's goods, wherein the King accepted of my motion that we should ; and so away, well pleased.

21st. (Lord's day.) This day is brought home one of my new silk suits—the plain one, but very rich camelott and noble. Tried it, and pleases me, but did not wear it, being I would not go out to-day to Church. . .

22d. To Deptford, it being Trinity-Monday, and so the day of choosing the Master of Trinity House for the next year, where, to my great content, I find that, contrary to the practice and design of Sir W. Batten, to break the rule and custom of the Company in choosing their Masters by succession, he would have brought in Sir W. Rider or Sir W. Pen, over the head of Hurleston, who is a knave, too ; besides, I believe, the younger brothers did all oppose it against the elder, and with great heat did carry it for Hurleston, which I know will vex him to the heart. Thence, the election being over, to Church, where an idle sermon from that conceited fellow, Dr Britton, saving that his advice to unity, and laying aside all envy and enmity among them, was very apposite. To the Trinity House, and a great dinner, as is usual.

23d. Late comes Sir Arthur Ingram to my office, to tell me, that, by letters from Amsterdam, of the 18th of this month, the Dutch fleete, being about 100 men-of-war, besides fire-ships, etc., did set out upon the 13th and 14th inst. Being divided into seven squadrons, viz., 1. General Opdam. 2. Cottenar, of Rotterdam. 3. Trump. 4. Schram, of Horne. 5. Stillingworth, of Freezland. 6. Everson. 7. One other, not named, of Zealand.

24th. To the Coffee-house, where all the news is of the Dutch being gone out, and of the plague growing upon us in this town ; and of remedies against it : some saying one thing, and some another.

26th. In the evening by water to the Duke of Albemarle, whom I found mightily off the hooks, that the ships are not gone out of the River ; which vexed me to see.

28th. (Lord's day.) I hear that Nixon is condemned to be shot to death, for his cowardice, by a Council of War. To Sir Philip Warwick's to dinner, where abundance of company come in unexpectedly ; and here I saw one pretty piece of household stuff, as the company increaseth, to put a larger leaf upon an ovall table. Thence to see my Lady Pen, where my wife and I were shown a

fine rarity : of fishes kept in a glass of water, that will live so for ever ; and finely marked they are, being foreign.

30th. To dinner to Sir G. Carteret's. Here a very fine, neat, French dinner, without much cost, we being all alone with my Lady, and one of the house with her : and then, in the evening, by coach, with my wife, and mother, and Mercer, our usual tour by coach, and at the old house at Islington : but, Lord ! to see how my mother found herself talk upon every object to think of old stories. Here I met with one that tells me that Jack Cole, my old schoolefellow, is dead and buried lately of a consumption, who was a great chrony of mine.

31st. To the 'Change, where great the noise and trouble of having our Hambrough ships lost ; and that very much placed upon Mr Coventry's forgetting to give notice to them of the going away of our fleete from the coast of Holland. But all without reason, for he did ; but the merchants, not being ready, staid longer than the time ordered for the convoy to stay, which was ten days. To Huysman's, the painter, who, I intend, shall draw my wife. He was not within, but I saw several good pictures.

June 1st. After dinner, I put on my new camelott suit ; the best that ever I wore in my life, the suit costing me above £24. In this I went with Creed to Goldsmiths' Hall, to the burial of Sir Thomas Viner ; which Hall, and Haberdashers' also, was so full of people, that we were fain for ease and coolness to go forth to Pater Noster Row, to choose a silk to make me a plain ordinary suit. That done, we walked to Corne-hill, and there, at Mr Cade's, stood in the balcon, and saw all the funeral, which was with the blue-coat boys and old men, all the Aldermen, and Lord Mayor, &c., and the number of the company very great : the greatest I ever did see for a taverne.

4th. (Lord's day.) News come that our fleete is pursuing the Dutch, who, either by cunning or by being worsted, do give ground, but nothing more for certain.

5th. Great talk of the Dutch being fled, and we in pursuit of them, and that our ship *Charity* is lost upon our Captain's, Wilkinson, and Lieutenant's yielding, but of this there is no certainty, save the report of some of the sick men of the *Charity*, turned adrift in a boat, and taken up and brought on shore yesterday to Sole Bay, and the news hereof brought by Sir Henry Felton. Certain news come that our fleete is in sight of the Dutch ships.

6th. To my Lady Sandwich's; who, poor lady, expects every hour to hear of my Lord; but in the best temper, neither confident nor troubled with fear, that I ever did see in my life.

7th. This morning my wife and mother rose about two o'clock; and with Mercer, Mary, the boy, and W. Hewer, as they had designed, took boat, and down to refresh themselves on the water to Gravesend. To the Dolphin tavern, where Sir J. Minnes, Lord Brouncker, Sir Thomas Harvy, and myself dined, upon Sir G. Carteret's charge, and very merry we were, Sir Thomas Harvy being a very drolle. To the New Exchange, and there drunk whey, with much entreaty getting it for our money, and they would not be entreated to let us have one glasse more. So took water to Fox-Hall, to the Spring garden, and there walked an hour or two with great pleasure, saving our minds ill at ease concerning the fleete and my Lord Sandwich: but we have no news of them, and ill reports run up and down of his being killed, but without ground. Here staid, pleasantly walking, and spending but 6d. till nine at night. The hottest day that ever I felt in my life. This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and "Lord have mercy upon us!" writ there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that, to my remembrance, I ever saw. It put me into an ill conception of myself and my smell, so that I was forced to buy some roll-tobacco to smell to and chew, which took away the apprehension. By water home, where weary with walking, and with the mighty heat of the weather, and for my wife's not coming home, I staying walking in the garden till twelve at night, when it begun to lighten exceedingly, through the greatness of the heat. Then, despairing of her coming home, I to bed.

8th. About five o'clock my wife come home, it having lightened all night hard, and one great shower of rain. She come and lay upon the bed: I up, and to the office all the morning. At one at home to dinner—my wife, mother, and Mercer dining at W. Joyce's; I giving her a caution to go round by the Half Moone to his house, because of the plague. I to my Lord Treasurer's by appointment of Sir Thomas Ingram's, to meet the Goldsmiths; where I met with the great news at last newly come, brought by Bab May from the Duke of York, that we have totally routed the Dutch; that the Duke himself, the Prince, my Lord Sandwich,

and Mr Coventry are all well : which did put me into such joy, that I forgot almost all other thoughts. With great joy to the Cocke-pitt ; where the Duke of Albemarle, like a man out of himself with content, new-told me all ; and by and by comes a letter from Mr Coventry's own hand to him, which he never opened, which was a strange thing, but did give it me to open and read, and consider what was fit for our office to do in it, and leave the matter with Sir W. Clerke ; which, upon such a time and occasion, was a strange piece of indifference, hardly possible. I copied out the letter, and did also take minutes out of Sir W. Clerke's other letters : and the sum of the news is :

VICTORY OVER THE DUTCH, JUNE 3, 1665

This day they engaged : the Dutch neglecting greatly the opportunity of the wind they had of us ; by which they lost the benefit of their fire-ships. The Earl of Falmouth, Muskerrey, and Mr Richard Boyle killed on board the Duke's ship, the *Royall Charles*, with one shot : their blood and brains flying in the Duke's face ; and the head of Mr Boyle striking down the Duke, as some say. Earl of Marlborough, Portland, Rear Admirall Sansum, to Prince Rupert, killed, and Captain Kirby and Ableson. Sir John Lawson wounded on the knee : hath had some bones taken out, and is likely to be well again. Upon receiving the hurt, he sent to the Duke for another to command the *Royall Oake*. The Duke sent Jordan out of the *St George*, who did brave things in her. Captain Jeremiah Smith, of the *Mary*, was second to the Duke, and stepped between him and Captain Seaton, of the *Urania*, 76 guns and 400 men, who had sworn to board the Duke ; killed him 200 men, and took the ship ; himself losing 99 men, and never an officer saved but himself and lieutenant. His master indeed is saved, with his leg cut off. Admirall Opdam blown up, Trump killed, and said by Holmes ; all the rest of their admiralls, as they say, but Everson, whom they dare not trust for his affection to the Prince of Orange, are killed : we have taken and sunk, as is believed, about twenty-four of their best ships ; killed and taken near 8 or 10,000 men, and lost, we think, not above 700. A greater victory never known in the world. They are all fled ; some 43 got into the Texell, and others elsewhere, and we in pursuit of the rest. Thence, with my heart full of joy, home : then to my Lady Pen's,

where they are all joyed, and not a little puffed up at the good success of their father; and good service indeed is said to have been done by him. Had a great bonfire at the gate; and I, with my Lady Pen's people and others, to Mrs Turner's great room, and there down into the street. I did give the boys 4s. among them, and mighty merry: so home to bed, with my heart at great rest and quiet, saving that the consideration of the victory is too great for me presently to comprehend.

11th. (Lord's day.) Up, and expected long a new suit; but, coming not, dressed myself in my new black silk camelott suit; and, when fully ready, comes my new one of coloured ferrandin, which my wife puts me out of love with, which vexes me. At noon, by invitation, comes my two cozen Joyces and their wives—my aunt James and he-cozen Harman—his wife being ill. Had a good dinner for them, and as merry as I could be in such company. They being gone, I out of doors a little, to show, forsooth, my new suit. I saw poor Dr Burnett's door shut; but he hath, I hear, gained great good-will among his neighbours: for he discovered it himself first, and caused himself to be shut up of his own accord: which was very handsome.

12th. Up, and in my yesterday's new suit to the Duke of Albemarle, and thence returned; and, with my taylor, bought some good lace for my sleeve bands in Pater Noster Row. The Duke of York is sent for last night, and expected to be here to-morrow.

15th. Up, and put on my new stuff suit with close knees which becomes me most nobly, as my wife says. At noon, put on my first laced band, all lace; and to Kate Joyce's to dinner, where my mother, wife, and abundance of their friends, and good usage. At Woolwich, discoursed with Mr Sheldon about my bringing my wife down for a month or two to his house, which he approves of, and, I think, will be very convenient. This day, the News-book, upon Mr Moore's showing L'Estrange, Captain Ferrers's letter, did do my Lord Sandwich great right as to the late victory. The Duke of York not yet come to town. The town grows very sickly, and people to be afraid of it: there dying this last week of the plague 112, from 43 the week before; whereof but one in Fenchurch Streete, and one in Broad Streete, by the Treasurer's office.

17th. At the office find Sir W. Pen come home, who looks very well; and I am gladder to see him than otherwise I should

be because of my hearing so well of him for his serviceableness in this late great action. It struck me very deep this afternoon going with a hackney coach from Lord Treasurer's down Holborne, the coachman I found to drive easily and easily, at last stood still, and come down hardly able to stand, and told me that he was suddenly struck very sick, and almost blind—he could not see; so I 'light, and went into another coach, with a sad heart for the poor man and for myself also, lest he should have been struck with the plague. Sir John Lawson, I hear, is worse than yesterday: the King went to see him to-day most kindly. It seems his wound is not very bad; but he hath a fever, a thrush, and a hiccup, all three together, which are, it seems, very bad symptoms.

18th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church, where Sir W. Pen was the first time since he come from sea, after the battle. Mr Mills made a sorry sermon. Sir W. Batten and my Lady are returned from Harwich. I went to see them, and it is pretty to see how we appear kind one to another, though neither of us care 2*d.* for another.

19th. To my little new goldsmith's [Colvill] whose wife, indeed, is one of the prettiest, modest black women that ever I saw. I paid for a dozen of silver salts £6 14*s.* 6*d.* Thence to see Sir J. Lawson, who is better, but continues ill—his hiccup not being yet gone, could have little discourse with him.

20th. Thanks-giving-day for victory over the Dutch. To the Dolphin Taverne, where all we officers of the Navy met with the Commissioners of the Ordnance by agreement, and dined: where good musique at my direction. Our club come to 34*s.* a man, nine of us. By water to Fox-hall, and there walked an hour alone, observing the several humours of the citizens that were there this holiday, pulling of cherries, and God knows what. This day I informed myself that there died four or five at Westminster of the plague, in several houses, upon Sunday last, in Bell Alley, over against the Palace-gate: yet people do think that the number will be fewer in the town than it was the last week. The Dutch are come out again with 20 sail under Bankert: supposed gone to the Northward, to meet their East India fleete.

21st. I find our talleys will not be money in less than sixteen months, which is a sad thing for the King to pay all that interest for every penny he spends: and, which is strange, the goldsmiths with whom I spoke do declare that they will not be moved to part with money upon the increase of their consideration of ten

per cent. which they have. I find all the town almost going out of town, the coaches and waggons being all full of people going into the country.

22d. In great pain whether to send my mother into the country to-day or no; I hearing, by my people, that the poor wretch hath a mind to stay a little longer, and I cannot blame her. At last, I resolved to put it to her, and she agreed to go, because of the sickness in town, and my intentions of removing my wife. She was to the last unwilling to go, but would not say so, but put it off till she lost her place in the coach, and was fain to ride in the waggon part.

26th. With Creed to the King's Head ordinary, and good sport with one Mr Nicholls, a prating coxcombe, that would be thought a poet, but would not be got to repeat any of his verses. Home, and there find my wife's brother, and his wife, a pretty little modest woman, where they come to dine with my wife. He did come to desire my assistance for a living, and, upon his good promises of care, and that it should be no burden to me, I did say and promise I would think of finding something for him, and the rather because his wife seems a pretty discreet young thing, and humble, and he, above all things, desirous to do something to maintain her, telling me sad stories of what she endured in Holland; and I hope it will not be burdensome. The plague encreases mightily, I this day seeing a house, at a bitt-maker's, over against St Clement's Church, in the open street, shut up: which is a sad sight.

28th. I did take my leave of Sir William Coventry, who, it seems, was knighted, and sworn a Privy Counsellor two days since; who with his old kindness treated me, and I believe I shall ever find him a noble friend. Sir G. Carteret tells me how all things proceed between my Lord Sandwich and himself to full content, and both sides depend upon having the match finished presently, and professed great kindness to me, and said that now we were something akin. In my way to Westminster Hall, I observed several plague-houses in King's Street and near the Palace. My Lord Sandwich is gone towards the sea to-day. It being a sudden resolution, I have taken no leave of him.

29th. By water to White Hall, where the Court full of waggons and people ready to go out of town. This end of the town every day grows very bad of the plague. The Mortality Bill is come to

267 ; which is about ninety more than the last : and of these but four in the City, which is a great blessing to us. Took leave again of Mr Coventry ; though I hope the Duke is not gone to stay, and so do others too. Home ; calling at Somerset House, where all packing up too : the Queen-Mother setting out for France this day, to drink Bourbon waters this year, she being in a consumption ; and intends not to come till winter come twelve-months.

30th. To White Hall, to the Duke of Albemarle, who I find at Secretary Bennet's, there being now no other great statesman, I think, but my Lord Chancellor, in town. At night, back by water, and in the dark and against the tide, shot the bridge, groping with their pole for the way, which troubled me before I got through. So home, about one or two o'clock in the morning, my family at a great loss what was become of me. Thus this book of two years ends. Myself and family in good health, consisting of myself and wife, Mercer, her woman, Mary, Alce, and Susan, our maids, and Tom, my boy. In a sickly time of the plague growing on. Having upon my hands the troublesome care of the Treasury of Tangier, with great sums drawn upon me, and nothing to pay them with : also the business of the office great. Considering of removing my wife to Woolwich : she lately busy in learning to paint, with great pleasure and successe. All other things well. The Duke of Yorke gone down to the fleete ; but all suppose not with intent to stay there, as it is not fit, all men conceive, he should.

July 1st. To the Duke of Albemarle's by appointment, to give him an account of some disorder in the Yard at Portsmouth, by workmen's going away of their own accord, for lack of money, to get work of haymaking, or anything else, to earn themselves bread. To Westminster, where, I hear, the sickness encreases greatly. Sad at the news, that seven or eight houses in Burying Hall Street are shut up of the plague.

2d. (Lord's day.) Sir G. Carteret did send me word that the business between my Lord and him is fully agreed on, and is mightily liked of the King and the Duke of York. Sir J. Lawson was buried late last night at St Dunstan's by us, without any company at all. The condition of his family is but very poor.

3d. The season growing so sickly, that it is much to be feared how a man can escape having a share with others in it, for which the good Lord God bless me ! or make me fitted to receive it.

4th. I hear this day the Duke and Prince Rupert are both come

back from sea, and neither of them go back again. Bankert is come home with the little fleete he has been abroad with, without doing anything, so that there is nobody of an enemy at sea. We are in great hopes of meeting with the Dutch East India fleet, which is mighty rich, or with De Ruyter, who is so also. Sir Richard Ford told me this day, at table, a fine account, how the Dutch were like to have been mastered by the present Prince of Orange his father to be besieged in Amsterdam—having drawn an army of foot into the town, and horse near to the town by night, within three miles, and they never knew of it; but by chance the Hamburgh post in the night fell among the horse, and heard their design, and knowing the way, it being very dark and rainy, better than they, went from them, and did give notice to the town before the others could reach the town, and so were saved. It seems this De Witt and another family, the Beckarts, were among the chief of the familys that were enemies to the Prince, and were afterwards suppressed by the Prince, and continued so till he was, as they say, poisoned; and then they turned all again, as it was, against the young Prince, and have so carried it to this day, it being about 12 and 14 years, and De Witt in the head of them.

16th. (Lord's day.) I up, having lain with Mr Moore in the chaplain's chamber. And, having trimmed myself, down to Mr Carteret; and we walked in the gallery an hour or two, it being a most noble and pretty house that ever, for the bigness, I saw. Here I taught him what to do: to take the lady always by the hand to lead her, and telling him that I would find opportunity to leave them together, he should make these and these compliments, and also take a time to do the like to Lord Crewe and Lady Wright. After I had instructed him, which he thanked me for, owning that he needed my teaching him, my Lord Crewe come down and family, the young lady among the rest; and so by coaches to church four miles off: where a pretty good sermon, and a declaration of penitence of a man that had undergone the Church's censure for his wicked life. Thence back again by coach, Mr Carteret having not had the confidence to take his lady once by the hand, coming or going, which I told him of when we come home, and he will hereafter do it. So to dinner. My Lord excellent discourse. Then to walk in the gallery, and to sit down. By and by my Lady Wright and I go out, and then my Lord Crewe, he not by design, and lastly my Lady Crewe come out, and left the young people

together. And a little pretty daughter of my Lady Wright's most innocently came out afterwards, and shut the door to, as if she had done it, poor child, by inspiration : which made us without have good sport to laugh at. They together an hour, and by and by church-time, whither he led her into the coach and into the church, where several handsome ladies. But it was most extraordinary hot that ever I knew it. So home again, and to walk in the gardens, where we left the young couple a second time ; and my Lady Wright and I to walk together, who tells me that some new clothes must of necessity be made for Lady Jemimah, which and other things I took care of. Anon to supper, and excellent discourse and dispute between my Lord Crewe and the chaplain, who is a good scholler, but a nonconformist. Here this evening I spoke with Mrs Carter, my old acquaintance, that hath lived with my Lady these twelve or thirteen years, the sum of all whose discourse and others for her is, that I would get her a good husband ; which I have promised, but know not when I shall perform. After Mr Carteret was carried to his chamber, we to prayers, and then to bed.

25th. Our good humour in everybody continuing, I slept till seven o'clock. Sad the story of the plague in the City, it growing mightily. This day my Lord Brouncker did give me Grant's book upon the Bills of Mortality, new printed and enlarged. To my office : thence by coach to the Duke of Albemarle's, not meeting one coach, going nor coming. This day come a letter to me from Paris, from my Lord Hinchinbroke, about his coming over ; and I have sent this night an order from the Duke of Albemarle for a ship of 36 guns to go to Calais to fetch him.

26th. To Greenwich, to the Park, where I heard the King and Duke are come by water this morn from Hampton Court. They asked me several questions. The King mightily pleased with his new buildings there. I followed them to Castle's ship, in building, and there met Sir W. Batten, and thence to Sir G. Carteret's, where all the morning with them ; they not having any but the Duke of Monmouth, and Sir W. Killigrew, and one gentleman, and a page more. Great variety of talk, and was often led to speak to the King and Duke. By and by they to dinner, and all to dinner and sat down to the King, saving myself, which, though I could not in modesty expect, yet, God forgive my pride ! I was sorry I was there, that Sir W. Batten should say that he could sit

down where I could not. The King having dined, he came down, and I went in the barge with him, I sitting at the door. Down to Woolwich, and there I just saw and kissed my wife, and saw some of her painting, which is very curious ; and away again to the King, and back again with him in the barge, hearing him and the Duke talk, and seeing and observing their manner of discourse. And, God forgive me ! though I admire them with all the duty possible, yet the more a man considers and observes them, the less he finds of difference between them and other men, though, blessed be God ! they are both princes of great nobleness and spirits. The Duke of Monmouth is the most skittish leaping gallant that ever I saw, always in action, vaulting, or leaping, or clambering. Sad news of the death of so many in the parish of the plague, forty last night. The bell always going. To the Exchange, where I went up and sat talking with my beauty, Mrs Batelier, a great while, who is indeed one of the finest women I ever saw in my life. This day poor Robin Shaw at Backewell's died, and Backewell himself now in Flanders. The King himself asked about Shaw, and being told he was dead, said he was very sorry for it. The sickness is got into our parish this week, and is got, indeed, every where ; so that I begin to think of setting things in order, which I pray God enable me to put, both as to soul and body.

31st. This evening with Mr Brisband, speaking of enchantments and spells, I telling him some of my charms ; he told me this, of his own knowledge, at Bourdeaux, in France. The words were these :

Voyci un Corps mort,
Royde com̃e un Baston,
Froid comme Marbre,
Leger com̃e un Esprit,
Levons le au nom de Jesus Christ.

He saw four little girls, very young ones—all kneeling, each of them, upon one knee ; and one begun the first line, whispering in the eare of the next, and second to the third, and the third to the fourth, and she to the first. Then the first begun the second line, and so round quite through ; and, putting each one finger only to a boy that lay flat upon his back on the ground, as if he was dead ; at the end of the words, they did with their four fingers raise this boy as high as they could reach ; and Mr Brisband, being there, and wondering at it, as also being afraid to see it, for they

would have had him to have bore a part in saying the words, in the room of one of the little girls that was so young that they could hardly make her learn to repeat the words, did, for fear there might be some slight used in it by the boy, or that the boy might be light, call the cook of the house, a very lusty fellow, as Sir G. Carteret's cook, who is very big : and they did raise him just in the same manner. This is one of the strangest things I ever heard, but he tells it me of his own knowledge, and I do heartily believe it to be true.

[August] 2d. Up, it being a public fast, as being the first Wednesday of the month, for the plague ; within doors all day, and upon my monthly accounts late. I did find myself really worth £1900, for which the great God of Heaven and Earth be praised !

3d. I, overtaking our young people, 'light, and into the coach to them, where mighty merry all the way ; and anon come to the Blockhouse, over against Gravesend, where we staid a great while, in a little drinking-house. Sent back our coaches to Dagenhams. I, by and by, by boat to Gravesend, where no news of Sir G. Carteret come yet : so back again, and fetched them all over, but the two saddle-horses that were to go with us, which could not be brought over in the horse-boat, the wind and tide being against us, without towing ; so we had some difference with some watermen, who would not tow them over under 20s., whereupon I swore to send one of them to sea, and will do it. Anon some others did it for 10s. By and by comes Sir G. Carteret, and so we set out for Chatham : in my way overtaking some company, wherein was a lady, very pretty, riding singly, her husband in company with her. We fell into talk, and I read a couple of verses, which her husband showed me, and he discommended ; but the lady commended : and I read them, so as to make the husband turn and commend them. By and by he and I fell into acquaintance, having known me formerly at the Exchequer. His name is Nokes, over against Bow Church. He was servant to Alderman Dashwood. We promised to meet, if ever we come both to London again ; and, at parting, I had a fair salute on horseback, in Rochester streets, of the lady. My Lady Carteret come to Chatham in a coach, by herself, before us. Great mind they have to buy a little hacquenee that I rode on from Greenwich, for a woman's horse.

4th. Up by five o'clock, and by six walked out alone, with my

Lady Slaning, to the Docke Yard, where walked up and down, and so to Mr Pett's, who led us into his garden, and there the lady, the best-humoured woman in the world, and a devout woman, I having spied her on her knees half an hour this morning in her chamber, clambered up to the top of the banquetting-house, to gather nuts; and so to the Hill-house, to breakfast, and mighty merry. Then they took coach, and Sir G. Carteret kissed me himself heartily, and my Lady several times, with great kindness, and then the young ladies, and so, with much joy, bade "God be with you!" and an end, I think, it will be to my mirth for a great while, it having been the passage of my whole life the most pleasing for the time, considering the quality and nature of the business, and my noble usage in the doing of it, and very many fine journeys, entertainments, and great company. So home, and found all things well, and letters that my Lord Hinchinbroke is arrived at Dover, and would be at Scott's hall this night, where the whole company will meet. I wish myself with them.

5th. In the morning up, and my wife showed me several things of her doing, especially one fine woman's Persian head, mighty finely done; beyond what I could expect of her: and so away by water, having ordered in the yard six or eight bargemen to be whipped, who had last night stolen some of the King's cordage from out of the yard. De Ruyter is come home, with all his fleet, which is very ill news. I am told of a great ryott upon Thursday last in Cheapeside; Colonel Danvers, a delinquent, having been taken, and in his way to the Tower was rescued from the captain of the guard, and carried away; one only of the rescuers being taken.

7th. Talking with Mrs Pegg Pen, and looking over her pictures, and commended them; but, Lord! so far short of my wife's as no comparison. Comes Rayner, the boat-maker, about some business, and brings a piece of plate with him, which I refused. He gone, then comes Luellin, about Mr Deering's business of planke, to have the contract perfected, and offers me twenty pieces in gold, but I refused it.

8th. To my office a little, and then to the Duke of Albemarle's about some business. The streets empty all the way, now, even in London, which is a sad sight. And to Westminster Hall, where talking, hearing very sad stories from Mrs Mumford; among others, of Mr Mitchell's son's family. And poor Will., that used

to sell us ale at the Hall-door, his wife and three children died, all, I think, in a day. So home, through the City again, wishing I may have taken no ill in going; but I will go, I think, no more thither. The news of De Ruyter's coming home is certain; and told to the great disadvantage of our fleet, and the praise of De Ruyter; but it cannot be helped.

10th. My she-cozen Porter, the turner's wife, to tell me that her husband was carried to the Tower, for buying of some of the King's powder, and would have my help, but I could give her none, not daring to appear in the business. By and by to the office, where we sat all the morning; in great trouble to see the Bill this week rise so high, to above 4000 in all, and of them above 3000 of the plague. Home, to draw over anew my will, which I had bound myself by oath to dispatch by to-morrow night; the town growing so unhealthy, that a man cannot depend upon living two days.

11th. To the Exchequer, about striking new tallies, and I find the Exchequer, by proclamation, removing to Nonsuch. Setting my house, and all things, in the best order I can, lest it should please God to take me away, or force me to leave my house.

13th. (Lord's day.) It being very wet all day, clearing all matters, and giving instructions in writing to my executors, thereby perfecting the whole business of my will, to my very great joy; so that I shall be in much better state of soul, I hope, if it should please the Lord to call me away this sickly time. I find myself worth, besides Brampton estates, the sum of £2164, for which the Lord be praised!

14th. To Sir G. Carteret; and, among other things, he told me, that he was not for the fanfarroone, to make a show with a great title, as he might have had long since, but the main thing, to get an estate; and another thing, speaking of minding of business—"By G—d," says he, "I will, and have already almost brought it to that pass, that the King shall not be able to whip a cat, but I mean to be at the tayle of it!" meaning, so necessary he is, and the King and my Lord Treasurer all do confess it, which, while I mind my business, is my own case in this office of the Navy. After dinner, beat Captain Cocke at billiards; won about 8s. of him and my Lord Brouncker. This night I did present my wife with a dyamond ring, awhile since given me by Mr Vines's brother, for helping him to be a purser, valued at about £10, the first thing

of that nature I did give her. Great fears we have that the plague will be a great Bill this week.

15th. It was dark before I could get home, and so land at Church-yard stairs, where, to my great trouble, I met a dead corps of the plague, in the narrow alley, just bringing down a little pair of stairs. But I thank God I was not much disturbed at it. However, I shall beware of being late abroad again.

16th. To the Exchange, where I have not been a great while. But, Lord ! how sad a sight it is to see the streets empty of people, and very few upon the 'Change ! Jealous of every door that one sees shut up, lest it should be the plague ; and about us two shops in three, if not more, generally shut up.

18th. To Sheernesse, where we walked up and down, laying out the ground to be taken in for a yard to lay provisions for cleaning and repairing of ships, and a most proper place it is for the purpose. Late in the dark to Gravesend, where great is the plague, and I troubled to stay there so long for the tide.

22d. Up, and being importuned by my wife and her two maids, which are both good wenches, for me to buy a necklace of pearl for her, and I promising to give her one of £60 in two years at furthest, and less if she pleases me in her painting. I went away, and walked to Greenwich, in my way seeing a coffin with a dead body therein, dead of the plague, lying in an open close belonging to Coome farme, which was carried out last night, and the parish have not appointed any body to bury it ; but only set a watch there all day and night, that nobody should go thither or come thence : this disease making us more cruel to one another than we are to dogs. Walked to Redriffe, troubled to go through the little lane where the plague is, but did, and took water and home, where all well.

[September] 3d. (Lord's day.) Up, and put on my coloured silk suit very fine, and my new periwig, bought a good while since, but durst not wear, because the plague was in Westminster when I bought it ; and it is a wonder what will be the fashion after the plague is done, as to periwigs, for nobody will dare to buy any haire, for fear of the infection, that it had been cut off the heads of people dead of the plague. I took my Lady Pen home, and her daughter Pegg, and, after dinner, I made my wife show them her pictures, which did mad Pegg Pen, who learns of the same man. My Lord Brouncker, Sir J. Minnes, and I, up to

the Vestry at the desire of the Justices of the Peace, in order to the doing something for the keeping of the plague from growing ; but, Lord ! to consider the madness of people of the town, who will, because they are forbid, come in crowds along with the dead corpses to see them buried ; but we agreed on some orders for the prevention thereof. Among other stories, one was very passionate, methought, of a complaint brought against a man in the town, for taking a child from London from an infected house. Alderman Hooker told us it was the child of a very able citizen in Gracious Street, a saddler, who had buried all the rest of his children of the plague, and himself and wife now being shut up in despair of escaping, did desire only to save the life of this little child ; and so prevailed to have it received stark-naked into the arms of a friend, who brought it, having put it into new fresh clothes, to Greenwich ; where, upon hearing the story, we did agree it should be permitted to be received and kept in the town. By water to Woolwich, in great apprehensions of an ague.

4th. Walked home, my Lord Brouncker giving me a very neat cane to walk with ; but it troubled me to pass by Coome farme, where about twenty-one people have died of the plague.

5th. After dinner, comes Colonel Blunt, in his new chariot made with springs ; as that was of wicker, wherein a while since we rode at his house. And he hath rode, he says, now his journey, many miles in it with one horse, and out-drives any coach, and out-goes any horse, and so easy, he says. So, for curiosity, I went into it to try it, and up the hill to the heath, and over the cart-ruts, and found it pretty well, but not so easy as he pretends.

14th. To London, where I have not been now a pretty while. To the Duke of Albemarle, where I find a letter of the 12th, from Solebay, from my Lord Sandwich, of the fleete's meeting with about eighteen more of the Dutch fleete, and his taking of most of them ; and the messenger says, they had taken three after the letter was wrote and sealed ; which being twenty-one, and the fourteen took the other day, is forty-five sail ; some of which are good, and others rich ships. And, having taken a copy of my Lord's letter, I away toward the 'Change, the plague being all thereabouts. Here my news was highly welcome, and I did wonder to see the 'Change so full, I believe 200 people ; but not a man or merchant of any fashion, but plain men all. And, Lord ! to see how I did endeavour all I could to talk with as few as I

could, there being now no observation of shutting up of houses infected, that to be sure we do converse and meet with people that have the plague upon them. I spent some thoughts upon the occurrences of this day, giving matter for as much content on one hand, and melancholy on another, as any day in all my life. For the first; the finding of my money and plate, and all safe at London, and speeding in my business this day. The hearing of this good news to such excess, after so great a despair of my Lord's doing any thing this year; adding to that, the decrease of 500 and more, which is the first decrease we have yet had in the sickness since it begun; and great hopes that the next week it will be greater. Then, on the other side, my finding that though the Bill in general is abated, yet the City, within the walls, is encreased, and likely to continue so, and is close to our house there. My meeting dead corpses of the plague, carried to be buried close to me at noon-day through the City in Fenchurch Street. To see a person sick of the sores carried close by me by Gracechurch in a hackney-coach. My finding the Angel tavern, at the lower end of Tower Hill, shut up; and more than that, the alehouse at the Tower Stairs; and more than that, that the person was then dying of the plague when I was last there, a little while ago, at night. To hear that poor Payne, my waiter, hath buried a child, and is dying himself. To hear that a labourer I sent but the other day to Dagenhams, to know how they did there, is dead of the plague; and that one of my own watermen, that carried me daily, fell sick as soon as he had landed me on Friday morning last, when I had been all night upon the water, and I believe he did get his infection that day at Branford, and is now dead of the plague. To hear that Captain Lambert and Cuttle are killed in the taking these ships; and that Mr Sidney Montagu is sick of a desperate fever at my Lady Carteret's, at Scott's Hall. To hear that Mr Lewes hath another daughter sick. And, lastly, that both my servants, W. Hewer, and Tom Edwards, have lost their fathers, both in St Sepulchre's parish, of the plague this week, do put me into great apprehensions of melancholy, and with good reason. But I put off my thoughts of sadness as much as I can, and the rather to keep my wife in good heart, and family also.

24th. (Lord's day.) Waked, and up, and drank; and then, being about Grayes, and a very calm, curious morning, we took our wherry, and to the fishermen, and bought a great deal of fine

fish, and to Gravesend to White's, and had part of it dressed ; and, in the mean time, we to walk about a mile from the town, and so back again ; and there one of our watermen told us he had heard of a bargain of cloves for us, and we went to a blind alehouse at the further end of the town, to a couple of wretched, dirty seamen, who, poor wretches ! had got together about 37 lb. of cloves, and 10 lb. of nutmegs, and we bought them of them—the first at 5s. 6d. per lb., and the latter at 4s., and paid them in gold ; but, Lord ! to see how silly these men are in the selling of it, and easy to be persuaded almost to anything. But it would never have been allowed by my conscience to have wronged the poor wretches, who told us how dangerously they had got some, and dearly paid for the rest of these goods.

25th. Found ourselves come to the fleete, and so aboard the *Prince* : and there, after a good while in discourse, we did agree to a bargain of £5000 for my Lord Sandwich, for silk, cinnamon, nutmegs, and indigo. And I was near signing to an undertaking for the payment of the whole sum ; but I did by chance escape it ; having since, upon second thoughts, great cause to be glad of it, reflecting upon the craft and not good condition, it may be, of Captain Cocke. I could get no trifles for my wife, and so away to the *Prince*, and presently comes my Lord on board from Greenwich, with whom, after a little discourse about his trusting of Cocke, we parted, and to our yacht ; but, it being calm, we, to make haste, took our wherry towards Chatham ; but, it growing dark, we were put to great difficultys—our simple, yet confident waterman, not knowing a step of the way ; and we found ourselves to go backward and forward, which, in the dark night and a wild place, did vex us mightily. At last, we got a fisher-boy by chance, and took him into the boat, and, being an odd kind of boy, did vex us too ; for he would not answer us aloud when we spoke to him, but did carry us safe thither, though with a mistake or two ; but I wonder they were not more. In our way, I was astonished, and so were we all, at the strange nature of the sea-water in a dark night, that it seemed like fire upon every stroke of the oare, and, they say, is a sign of winde. We went to the Crowne Inne, at Rochester, and there to supper, and made ourselves merry with the poor fisher-boy, who told us he had not been in bed the whole seven years since he come to 'prentice, and hath two or three more years to serve. We, in our clothes, to bed.

27th. Up, and saw and admired my wife's picture of Our Saviour, now finished, which is very pretty. By water to Greenwich, where to the King's Head, the great musique-house, the first time I was ever there. Much troubled to hear from Creed, that he was told at Salisbury, that I am come to be a great swearer and drunkard ; but, Lord ! to see how my late little drinking of wine is taken notice of by envious men, to my disadvantage. To Captain Cocke's, and he not yet come from town, to Mr Evelyn, where much company ; and thence in his coach with him to the Duke of Albemarle, by Lambeth, who was in a mighty pleasant humour ; and tells us that the Dutch do stay abroad, and our fleete must go out again, or be ready to do so. Here we got several things ordered, as we desired, for the relief of the prisoners, and sick and wounded men. Here I saw this week's Bill of Mortality, wherein, blessed be God ! there is above 1800 decrease, being the first considerable decrease we have had. Most excellent discourse with Mr Evelyn touching all manner of learning, wherein I find him a very fine gentleman, and particularly of paynting, in which he tells me the beautifull Mrs Middleton is rare, and his own wife do brave things. Captain Cocke brought one parcel of our goods by waggons, and I first resolved to have lodged them at our office ; but the thoughts of its being the King's house altered our resolution, and so put them at his friend's Mr Glanville's, and there they are safe. Would the rest of them were so, too ! In discourse, we come to mention my profit, and he offers me £500 clear, and I demand £600. We part to-night, and I lie at Mr Glanville's house, there being none there but a mayd-servant and a young man, being in some pain, partly from not knowing what to do in this business, having a mind to be at a certainty in my profit, and partly through his having Jacke sick still, and his blackemore now also fallen sick. So he being gone, I to bed.

29th. I had my horse I borrowed of Mr Gilethropp, Sir W. Batten's clerk, brought to me at Greenwich, and so set out and rode hard, and was at Nonsuch by about eight o'clock, a very fine journey, and a fine day. There I come just about chappell-time, and so I went to chappell with them, and thence to the severall offices about my tallies, which I find done, but strung for sums not to my purpose. But, Lord ! what ado I had to persuade the dull fellows to it, especially Mr Warder, Master of the Pells, and yet without any manner of reason for their scruple. But, at last,

I did, and so walked to Ewell, and to horse again, and come to Greenwich before night. Sir Martin Noell is this day dead of the plague, in London, where he hath lain sick of it these eight days.

30th. The great burden we have upon us at this time at the office, is the providing for prisoners and sick men that are recovered, they lying before our office doors all night and all day, poor wretches. Having been on shore, the Captains won't receive them on board, and other ships we have not to put them on, nor money to pay them off, or provide for them. God remove this difficulty ! Hither come Luellin to me, and would force me to take Mr Deering's 20 pieces in gold he did offer me a good while since, which I did, yet really and sincerely against my will and content, being not likely to reap any comfort in having to do with, and be beholden to, a man that minds more his pleasure and company than his business. Was set upon by the poor wretches, whom I did give good words and some little money to, and the poor people went away like lambs, and, in good earnest, are not to be censured, if their necessities drive them to bad courses. Thence to the office, and then to Captain Cocke's, where I find Mr Temple, the fat blade, Sir Robert Viner's chief man. I do end this month with the greatest content, and may say that these last three months, for joy, health, and profit, have been much the greatest that ever I received all my life in any twelve months, having nothing upon me but the consideration of the sickliness of the season to mortify me.

[October] 4th. This night comes Sir George Smith to see me at the office, and tells me how the plague is decreased this week 740, for which God be praised ! but that it encreases at our end of the town still. All the town is full of Captain Cocke's being in some ill condition about prize-goods, his goods being taken from him, and I know not what. Being come to my wife, at our lodging, I did go to bed, and left my wife with her people, to laugh and dance, and I to sleep.

5th. Among other things, talking of my sister Pall, and my wife of herself is very willing that I should give her £400 to her portion, and would have her married soon as we could ; but this great sickness time do make it unfit to send for her up. Read a book of Mr Evelyn's translating, and sending me as a present, about directions for gathering a library ; but the book is above my reach, but his epistle to my Lord Chancellor is a very fine piece. Then to

Mr Evelyn's, to discourse of our confounded business of prisoners, and sick and wounded seamen, wherein he and we are so much put out of order. And here he showed me his gardens, which are, for variety of evergreens, and hedge of holly, the finest things I ever saw in my life. Thence in his coach to Greenwich, and there to my office, all the way having fine discourse of trees and the nature of vegetables. Renewed my promises of observing my vows as I used to do ; for I find that, since I left them off, my mind is run a wool-gathering and my business neglected.

7th. Did business, though not much, at the office, because of the horrible crowd and lamentable moan of the poor seamen, that lie starving in the streets for lack of money, which do trouble and perplex me to the heart ; and more at noon, when we were to go through them, for then above a whole hundred of them followed us ; some cursing, some swearing, and some praying to us. A letter come this afternoon from the Duke of Albemarle, signifying the Dutch to be in sight, with 80 sail, yesterday morning, off Solebay, coming right into the bay. God knows what they will and may do to us, we having no force abroad able to oppose them, but to be sacrificed to them. At night come two waggons from Rochester, with more goods from Captain Cocke ; and in housing them come two of the Custom-house, and did seize them : but I showed them my *Transire*. However, after some angry words, we locked them up, and sealed up the key, and did give it to the constable to keep till Monday and so parted. But, Lord ! to think how the poor constable come to me in the dark, going home ; " Sir," says he, " I have the key, and, if you would have me do any service for you, send for me betimes to-morrow morning, and I will do what you would have me." Whether the fellow do this out of kindness or knavery, I cannot tell ; but it is pretty to observe. Talking with him in the high way, come close by the bearers with a dead corpse of the plague ; but, Lord ! to see what custom is, that I am come almost to think nothing of it.

11th. Comes up my landlady, Mrs Clerke, to make an agreement for the time to come ; and I, for the having room enough, and to keep out strangers, and to have a place to retreat to for my wife, if the sickness should come to Woolwich, am to pay dear : so, for three rooms, and a dining-room, and for dinner, and bread and beer and butter, at nights and mornings, I am to give her £5 10s. per month. Having danced my people as long as I saw

fit to sit up, I to bed, and left them to do what they would. I forgot that we had W. Hewer there, and Tom, and Golding, my barber at Greenwich, for our fiddler, to whom I did give 10s.

14th. My heart and head to-night is full of the Victualling business, being overjoyed and proud at my success in my proposal about it, it being read before the King, Duke, and the Caball with complete applause and satisfaction; this Sir G. Carteret and Sir W. Coventry both writ me. My own proper accounts are in great disorder, having been neglected about a month. This, and the fear of the sickness, and providing for my family, do fill my head very full, besides the infinite business of the office, and nobody here to look after it but myself.

15th. (Lord's day.) Up, and, while I staid for the barber, tried to compose a duo of counter point; and I think it will do very well, it being by Mr Berkenshaw's rule. Comes Mr Povy's coach, and, more than I expected, him himself, to fetch me to Branford: so he and I immediately to set out, having drunk a draught of mulled sacke; and so rode most nobly, in his most pretty and best-contrived chariott in the world, with many new conveniences, his never having till now, within a day or two, been yet finished. Anon we come to his house, and so, with fresh horses, his noble, fine horses, the best confessedly in England, the King having none such, he sent me to Sir Robert Viner's, whom I met coming just from church; and he and I into his garden to discourse of money, but none is to be had. The Parliament, it seems, have voted the King £1,250,000 at £50,000 per month tax for the war; and voted to assist the King against the Dutch, and all that shall adhere to them; and thanks to be given him for his care of the Duke of York, which last is a very popular vote on the Duke's behalf. The taxes of the last assessment, which should have been in good part gathered, are not yet laid, and that even in part of the City of London; and the Chimny-money comes almost to nothing, nor any thing else looked after.

16th. I walked to the Tower; but, Lord! how empty the streets are, and melancholy, so many poor, sick people in the streets full of sores; and so many sad stories overheard as I walk, everybody talking of this dead, and that man sick, and so many in this place, and so many in that. And they tell me that, in Westminster, there is never a physician and but one apothecary left, all being dead; but that there are great hopes of a great decrease this week:

God send it ! At the Tower found my Lord Duke [of Albemarle] and Duchess at dinner ; so I sat down ; and much good cheer, the Lieutenant and his lady, and several officers with the Duke. But, Lord ! to hear the silly talk was there would make one mad ; the Duke having none almost but fools about him. Much talk about the Dutch, in reproach of them, in whose hands the fleete is ; but, Lord help him ! there is something will hinder him and all the world in going to sea, which is want of victuals ; for we have not wherewith to answer our service ; and how much better it would have been if the Duke's advice had been taken, for the fleete to have gone presently out ; but, God help the King ! while no better counsels are given, and what is given no better taken. I have received letters from my Lord Sandwich to-day, speaking very high about the prize-goods, that he would have us to fear nobody, but be very confident in what we have done, and not to confess any fault or doubt of what he hath done ; for the King hath allowed it, and do now confirm it, and do send orders, as he says, for nothing to be disturbed that his Lordship hath ordered therein as to the division of the goods to the fleete ; which do comfort us. To the Still Yard, which place, however, is now shut up of the Plague ; but I was there, and we now make no bones of it. Much talk there is of the Chancellor's speech and the King's at the Parliament's meeting, which are very well liked ; and that we shall certainly, by their speeches, fall out with France at this time, together with the Dutch, which will find us work.

18th. Making up my accounts of Tangier, which I did with great difficulty, and after eating something, to bed, my mind eased of a great deal of figures and castings.

19th. Come to an agreement yesterday with my landlady for £6 per month, for so many rooms for myself, them, and my wife, and maid, when she shall come, and to pay, besides, for my dyett. To the Duke of Albemarle this evening ; and, among other things, spoke to him for my wife's brother Balty to be of his guard, which he kindly answered that he should. My business of the Victualling goes on as I would have it ; and now my head is full how to make some profit out of it to myself or people. To that end, when I come home, I wrote a letter to Mr Coventry, offering myself to be the Surveyor-Generall, and am apt to think he will assist me in it, but I do not set my heart much on it, though it would be a good help.

20th. Up, and had my last night's letters brought back to me, which troubles me, because of my accounts, lest they should be asked for before they come, which I abhor, being more ready to give than they can be to demand them : so I sent away an express to Oxford with them, and another to Portsmouth, with a copy of my letter to Mr Coventry.

22d. (Lord's day.) Met some letters, which made me resolve to go after church to my Lord Duke of Albemarle's : so, after dinner, I took Cocke's chariott, and to Lambeth ; but, in going and getting over the water and through White Hall, I spent so much time, the Duke had almost dined. However, fresh meat was brought for me to his table, and there I dined, and full of discourse and very kind. There they are again talking of the prizes, and my Lord Duke did speak very broad that my Lord Sandwich and Pen should do what they would, and answer for themselves. For his part, he would lay all before the King.

23d. On board the East India ship, where my Lord Brouncker had provided a great dinner. Captain Taylor with me to the office, and there he and I reckoned ; and I perceive I shall get £100 profit by my services of late to him, which is a very good thing.

24th. My Lord Sandwich is come to town : so I presently to Boreman's, where he is, and there found him : he mighty kind to me, but no opportunity of discourse private yet, which he tells me he must have with me : only his business is sudden to go to the fleete to get out a few ships to drive away the Dutch. To him again to Captain Cocke's, where he supped, and lies, and never saw him more merry ; and here is Charles Harbord, who the King hath lately knighted. My lord, to my great content, did tell me before them, that never anything was read to the King and Council, all the chief Ministers of State being there, as my letter about the victualling was, and no more said upon it than a most thorough consent to every word was said.

26th. Sir Christopher Mings and I together by water to the Tower ; and I find him a very witty, well-spoken fellow, and mighty free to tell his parentage, being a shoemaker's son. I to the 'Change, where I hear how the French have taken two, and sunk one, of our merchant-men in the Streights, and carried the ships to Toulon ; so that there is no expectation but we must fall out with them. The 'Change pretty full, and the town begins to be lively again, though the streets very empty, and most shops shut.

27th. To the Duke of Albemarle's, and there much company, but I staid and dined, and he makes mighty much of me; and here he tells us the Dutch are gone, and have lost above 150 cables and anchors, through the late foul weather. He proposed to me from Mr Coventry that I should be Surveyor-Generall of the Victualling business, which I accepted. But, indeed, the terms in which Mr Coventry proposes it for me are the most obliging that ever I could expect from any man, and more; he saying that I am the fittest man in England; and that he is sure, if I will undertake, I will perform it; and that it will be also a very desirable thing that I might have this encouragement, my encouragement in the Navy alone being in no wise proportionable to my pains or deserts. This, added to the letter I had three days since, from Mr Southerne, signifying that the Duke of York had, in his master's absence, opened my letters, and commanded him to tell me that he did approve of my being the Surveyor-General, do make me joyful beyond myself that I cannot express it, to see, that as I do take pains, so God blesses me, and hath sent me masters that do observe that I take pains.

28th. Sir W. Clerke tells me the Parliament hath given the Duke of York £120,000, to be paid him after £1,250,000 is gathered upon the tax which they have now given the King; also that the Dutch have lately launched sixteen new ships; all which is great news. The King and Court, they say, have now finally resolved to spend nothing upon clothes, but what is of the growth of England; which, if observed, will be very pleasing to the people, and very good for them.

29th. (Lord's day.) In the street, at Woolwich, did overtake and almost run upon two women crying and carrying a man's coffin between them; I suppose the husband of one of them, which, methinks, is a sad thing.

31st. Meeting yesterday the Searchers, with their rods in their hands, coming from Captain Cocke's house, I did overhear them say that his Black did not die of the Plague. About nine at night I come home, and there find Mrs Pierce come, and little Frank Tooker, and Mr Hill, and other people, a great many dancing; and anon comes Mrs Coleman and her husband, and she sung very finely; though her voice is decayed as to strength, but mighty sweet though soft, and a pleasant, jolly woman, and in mighty good humour. Among other things, Laneare did, at the request of Mr

Hill, bring two or three of the finest prints for my wife to see that ever I did see in all my life. But, for singing, among other things, we got Mrs Coleman to sing part of the Opera, though she would not own she did get any of it without book in order to the stage; but, above all, her counterfeiting of Captain Cooke's part, in his reproaching his man with cowardice—"Base slave," etc.—she do it most excellently. Thus we end the month merrily; and the more that, after some fears that the plague would have increased again this week, I hear for certain that there is above 400 less; the whole number of deaths being 1388, and of them of the plague 1031. Want of money in the Navy puts every thing out of order. Men grow mutinous; and nobody here to mind the business of the Navy but myself. I in great hopes of my place of Surveyor-General of the Victualling, which will bring me £300 per annum.

November 1st. Lay very long in bed, discoursing with Mr Hill of most things of a man's life, and how little merit do prevail in the world, but only favour; and that, for myself, chance without merit brought me in; and that diligence only keeps me so, and will, living as I do among so many lazy people that the diligent man becomes necessary, that they cannot do anything without him.

4th. I hear that one of the little boys at my lodging is not well; and they suspect, by their sending for plaister and fume, that it may be the plague; so I sent Mr Hater and W. Hewer to speak with the mother; but they returned to me, satisfied that there is no hurt nor danger, but the boy is well, and offers to be searched. After dinner, to the office, and much troubled to have 100 seamen all the afternoon there, swearing below, and cursing us, and breaking the glasse windows, and swear they will pull the house down on Tuesday next. I sent word of this to Court, but nothing will help it but money and a rope.

5th. (Lord's day.) To the Cocke-pitt, where I heard the Duke of Albemarle's chaplain make a simple sermon: among other things, reproaching the imperfection of humane learning, he cried—"All our physicians cannot tell what an ague is, and all our arithmetique is not able to number the days of a man"—which, God knows, is not the fault of arithmetique, but that our understandings reach not the thing. I hear that the plague increases much at Lambeth, St Martin's, and Westminster, and fear it will all over the city. By water to Deptford, and there made a visit to Mr Evelyn, who, among other things, showed me most excellent

painting in little ; in distemper, in Indian incke, water colours : graveing ; and, above all, the whole secret of mezzo-tinto, and the manner of it, which is very pretty, and good things done with it. He read to me very much also of his discourse, he hath been many years and now is about, about Gardenage ; which will be a most noble and pleasant piece. He read me part of a play or two of his making, very good, but not as he conceits them, I think, to be. He showed me his *Hortus Hyemalis* ; leaves laid up in a book of several plants kept dry, which preserve colour, however, and look very finely, better than an Herball. In fine, a most excellent person he is, and must be allowed a little for a little conceitedness ; but he may well be so, being a man so much above others. He read me, though with too much gusto, some little poems of his own, that were not transcendant, yet one or two very pretty epigrams ; among others, of a lady looking in at a grate, and being pecked at by an eagle that was there.

8th. It being a fast-day, all people were at church, and the office quiet : so I did much business, and at noon adventured to my old lodging. By water to Deptford, and, about eight o'clock at night, did take water, being glad I was out of the town ; for the plague, it seems, rages there more than ever.

9th. At noon, by water, to the King's Head at Deptford, where Captain Taylor invites Sir W. Batten and Sir John Robinson, who come in with a great deal of company from hunting, and brought in a hare alive, and a great many silly stories they tell of their sport, which pleases them mightily, and me not at all, such is the different sense of pleasure in mankind ; and strange to see how a good dinner and feasting reconciles everybody. The Bill of Mortality, to all our griefs, is encreased 399 this week, and the encrease generally through the whole City and suburbs, which makes us all sad.

10th. In the evening, news is brought me my wife is come : so I to her ; and she told me, having herself been this day at my house at London, which was boldly done, that a neighbour of our's, Mr Hollworthy, a very able man, is dead by a fall in the country from his horse—his foot hanging in the stirrup, and his brains beat out.

12th. (Lord's day.) They hope here the plague will be less this week. Reading over part of Mr Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacrae*, wherein many things are very good, and some frivolous.

14th. Captain Cocke and I in his coach through Kent Streete, a sad place through the plague, people sitting sick and with plaisters about them in the street begging. To the Duke of Albemarle by water, late, where I find he had remembered that I had appointed to come to him this day about money, which I excused not doing sooner ; but I see, a dull fellow as he is, he do sometimes remember what another thinks he mindeth not. My business was about getting money of the East India Company ; but, Lord ! to see how the Duke himself magnifies himself in that he had done with the Company ; and my Lord Craven what the King could have done without my Lord Duke, and a great deal of stir ; but most mightily what a brave fellow I am. Back by water, it raining hard, and so to the office, and stopped my going, as I intended, to the buoy of the Nore, and great reason I had to rejoice at it, for it proved the night of as great a storm as was almost ever remembered. This day I hear that my pretty grocer's wife, Mrs Beverham, over the way there, her husband is lately dead of the plague at Bow, which I am sorry for, for fear of losing her neighbourhood.

15th. To the King's Head tavern, where all the Trinity House dined to-day, to choose a new Master in the room of Hurlestone, that is dead, and Captain Crispe is chosen. After dinner, who comes in but my Lady Batten, and a troop of a dozen women almost, and expected, as I found afterwards, to be made mighty much of, but nobody minded them : but the best jest was, that when they saw themselves not regarded, they would go away, and it was horrible foul weather ; and my Lady Batten walking through the dirty lane with new spick and span white shoes, she dropped one of her galoshes in the dirt, where it stuck, and she forced to go home without one, at which she was horribly vexed, and I led her ; and, vexing her a little more in mirth, I parted, and to Glanville's, where I knew Sir John Robinson, Sir G. Smith, and Captain Cocke were gone, and then, with the company of Mrs Penington, whose father, I hear, was one of the Court of Justice, and died prisoner, of the stone, in the Tower, I made them, against their resolutions, to stay from hour to hour, till it was almost midnight, and a furious, dark, and rainy, and windy, stormy night, and, which was best, I, with drinking small beer, made them all drunk drinking wine, at which Sir John Robinson made great sport. But, they being gone, the lady and I very civilly sat an hour by the fireside, showing the folly of this

Robinson, that makes it his work to praise himself ; and all he says and do, like a heavy-headed coxcomb. The plague, blessed be God ! is decreased 400 ; making the whole this week about 1300 and odd : for which the Lord be praised !

16th. To Erith ; where, after making a little visit to Madam Williams, she did give me information of W. Howe's having bought eight bags of precious stones taken from about the Dutch Vice-Admirall's neck, of which there were eight diamonds, which cost him £4000 sterling in India, and hoped to have made £12,000 here for them. And that is told by one that sold him one of the bags, which hath nothing but rubys in it, which he had for 35s. ; and that it will be proved he hath made £125 of one stone that he bought. This she desired, and I resolved, I would give my Lord Sandwich notice of. So I on board my Lord Brouncker ; and there he and Sir Edmund Pooley carried me down into the hold of the India shipp, and there did show me the greatest wealth lie in confusion that a man can see in the world. Pepper scattered through every chink, you trod upon it ; and in cloves and nutmegs I walked above the knees : whole rooms full. And silk in bales, and boxes of copper-plate, one of which I saw opened. Having seen this, which was as noble a sight as ever I saw in my life, I away on board the other ship in despair to get the pleasure-boat of the gentlemen there to carry me to the fleete. They were Mr Ashburnham, and Colonell Wyndham ; but, pleading the King's business, they did presently agree I should have it. So I presently on board, and got under sail, and had a good bedd by the shift, of Wyndham's.

20th. Up before day, and so took horse for Nonesuch, with two men with me, and the ways very bad, and the weather worse, for wind and rain. Thither, and I did get my tallys, and thence took horse, but it rained hard and blew, but got home very well. Here I find Mr Deering come to trouble me about business, which I soon dispatched, he telling me that Luellin hath been dead this fortnight, of the plague, in St Martin's Lane, which much surprised me.

22d. I was very glad to hear that the plague is come very low ; that is, the whole under 1000, and the plague 600 and odd : and great hopes of a further decrease, because of this day's being a very exceeding hard frost, and continues freezing. This day the first of the *Oxford Gazettes* come out, which is very pretty, full of news,

and no folly in it, wrote by Williamson. It pleased me to have it demonstrated, that a Purser without professed cheating is a professed loser, twice as much as he gets.

23d. Up betimes, and so, being trimmed, I to get papers ready against Sir H. Cholmly come to me by appointment, he being newly come over from Tangier. He did by and by come, and we settled all matters about his money, and he is a most satisfied man in me, and do declare his resolution to give me £200 per annum. It continuing to be a great frost, which gives us hopes for a perfect cure of the plague, he and I to walk in the park, and there discoursed with grief of the calamity of the times. I brought him home, and had a good dinner for him. Captain Cuttance tells me how W. Howe is laid by the heels, and confined to the *Royall Katharine*, and his things all seized : and how, also, for a quarrell, which indeed my Lord the other night told me, Captain Ferrers having cut all over the back of another of my Lord's servants, is parted from my Lord. We in extraordinary lack of money and everything else to go to sea next year. My Lord Sandwich is gone from the fleete yesterday towards Oxford.

24th. To London, and there, in my way, at my old oyster shop in Gracious Streete, bought two barrels of my fine woman of the shop, who is alive after all the plague, which now is the first observation or inquiry we make at London concerning everybody we know. To the 'Change, where very busy with several people, and mightily glad to see the 'Change so full, and hopes of another abatement still the next week. I went home with Sir G. Smith to dinner, sending for one of my barrels of oysters, which were good, though come from Colchester, where the plague hath been so much. Here a very brave dinner, though no invitation ; and, Lord ! to see how I am treated, that come from so mean a beginning, is matter of wonder to me. But it is God's mercy to me, and his blessing upon my taking pains, and being punctual in my dealings. Visited Mr Evelyn, where most excellent discourse with him ; among other things, he showed me a ledger of a Treasurer of the Navy, his great grandfather, just 100 years old ; which I seemed mighty fond of, and he did present me with it, which I take as a great rarity ; and he hopes to find me more, older than it. He also showed us several letters of the old Lord of Leicester's, in Queen Elizabeth's time, under the very handwriting of Queen Elizabeth, and Queen Mary, Queen of Scots ; and others, very

venerable names. But, Lord ! how poorly, methinks, they wrote in those days, and in what plain uncut paper.

26th. (Lord's day.) Up before day to dress myself to go toward Erith, which I would do by land, it being a horrible cold frost to go by water : so borrowed two horses of Mr Howell and his friend, and with much ado set out, after my horses being frosted, which I know not what it means to this day, and my boy having lost one of my spurs and stockings, carrying them to the smith's, and I borrowed a stocking, and so got up, and Mr Tooker with me, and rode to Erith, and there on board my Lord Brouncker met with Sir W. Warren upon his business, among others, and did a great deal ; Sir J. Minnes, as God would have it, not being there to hinder us with his impertinences. To my wife at Woolwich, where I found, as I had directed, a good dinner to be made against to-morrow, and invited guests in the yard, meaning to be merry, in order to her taking leave, for she intends to come in a day or two to me for altogether. But here, they tell me, one of the houses behind them is infected, and I was fain to stand there a great while, to have their back-doors opened, but they could not, having locked them fast, against any passing through, so was forced to pass by them again, close to their sick beds, which they were removing out of the house, which troubled me : so I made them uninvite their guests, and to resolve of coming all away to me to-morrow.

28th. Up before day, and Cocke and I took a hackney-coach appointed with four horses to take us up, and so carried us over London Bridge. But there, thinking of some business, I did light at the foot of the bridge, and by help of a candle at a stall, where some pavers were at work, I wrote a letter to Mr Hater, and never knew so great an instance of the usefulness of carrying pen and ink and wax about one : so we, the way being very bad, to Nonsuch, and thence to Sir Robert Long's house—a fine place, and dinner-time ere we got thither ; but we had breakfasted a little at Mr Gauden's, he being out of town though, and there borrowed Dr [Jeremy] Taylor's sermons, and is a most excellent book, and worth my buying, where had a very good dinner, and curiously dressed, and here a couple of ladies, kinswomen of his, not handsome though, but rich, that knew me by report of The. Turner, and mighty merry we were. After dinner to talk of our business, and we parted. Captain Cocke and I through Wandsworth. Drunk at Sir Allen Broderick's, a great friend and comrade

of Cocke's, whom he values above the world for a witty companion, and I believe he is so. So to Fox-hall, and there took boat, and down to the old Swan, and thence to Lumbard Street—it being dark night, and thence to the Tower. Took boat, and down to Greenwich. Cocke home, and I to the office, and then to my lodgings, where my wife is come, and I am well pleased with it, only much trouble in those lodgings we have, the mistress of the house being so deadly dear in everything we have; so that we do resolve to remove home soon as we know how the plague goes this week, which we hope will be a good decrease. So to bed.

29th. Home to my house, calling my wife, where the poor wretch is putting things in a way to be ready for our coming home, and so by water together to Greenwich.

30th. At noon comes Sir Thomas Allen, and I made him dine with me, and very friendly he is, and a good man, I think, but one that professes he loves to get and to save. Great joy we have this week in the weekly Bill, it being come to 544 in all, and but 333 of the plague; so that we are encouraged to get to London soon as we can. And my father writes as great news of joy to them, that he saw York's waggon go again this week to London, and full of passengers; and tells me that my aunt Bell hath been dead of the plague these seven weeks.

December 1st. All the day long shut up in my little closet at my office. Then home by promise to my wife, to have mirth there. So we had our neighbours, little Miss Tooker and Mrs Daniels, to dance, and after supper I to bed, and left them merry below, which they did not part from till two or three in the morning.

2d. Dined with my wife at noon, and took leave of her, she being to go to London for altogether.

4th. Upon the 'Change to-day, Colville tells me, from Oxford, that the King in person hath justified my Lord Sandwich to the highest degree; and is right in his favour to the uttermost.

8th. To give order to my maid to buy things to send down to Greenwich for supper to-night; and I also to buy other things, as oysters, and lemons, 6d. per piece, and oranges, 3d. By water down to Greenwich, and there found all my company come—that is, Mrs Knipp, and an ill, melancholy, jealous-looking fellow, her husband, that spoke not a word to us all the night, Pierce and his wife, and Rolt, Mrs Worshipp and her daughter, Coleman and his wife, and Laneare, and, to make us perfectly happy, there

comes by chance to town Mr Hill to see us. Most excellent musique we had in abundance, and a good supper, dancing, and a pleasant scene of Mrs Knipp's rising sick from table, but whispered me it was for some hard word or other her husband give her just now when she laughed, and was more merry than ordinary. But we got her in humour again, and mighty merry; spending the night, till two in the morning, with most complete content as ever in my life. And we to bed—Mr Hill and I, whom I love more and more, and he us.

9th. My Lord Brouncker and I dined with the Duke of Albe-marle. At table, the Duchess, a very ill-looking woman, complaining of her Lord's going to sea the next year, said these cursed words: "If my Lord had been a coward, he had gone to sea no more: it may be then he might have been excused, and made an Ambassador"; meaning my Lord Sandwich. This made me mad, and I believe she perceived my countenance change, and blushed herself very much. I was in hopes others had not minded it, but my Lord Brouncker, after we were come away, took notice of the words to me with displeasure. To Mr Hill, and sang, among other things, my song of "Beauty, retire," which he likes, only excepts against two notes in the base, but likes the whole very well.

13th. Invited by Sheriff Hooker, who keeps the poorest, mean, dirty table in a dirty house that ever I did see any Sheriff of London; and a plain, ordinary, silly man I think he is, but rich—only his son, Mr Lethulier, I like, for a pretty, civil, understanding merchant; and the more by much, because he happens to be husband to our noble, fat, brave lady in our parish, that I and my wife admire so. Thence away to the Pope's Head tavern, and called to see my wife, who is well; though my great trouble is that my poor little parish is the greatest number this week in all the city within the walls, having six, from one the last week, and so by water to Greenwich. To Mr Pierce's, where he and his wife made me drink some tea. Away to the 'Change, and there hear the ill news, to my great and all our great trouble, that the plague is encreased again this week, notwithstanding there hath been a long day or two great frosts; but we hope it is only the effects of the late close, warm weather, and, if the frost continue the next week, may fall again: but the town do thicken so much with people, that it is much if the plague do not grow again upon us.

15th. Met with Sir James Bunce. "This is the time for you,"

says he, "that were for Oliver heretofore; you are full of employment, and we, poor Cavaliers, sit still and can get nothing"; which was a pretty reproach, I thought; but answered nothing to it, for fear of making it worse.

16th. News is come to-day of our Sound fleete being come.

17th. (Lord's day.) Word brought me that Cutler's coach is, by appointment, come to the Isle of Doggs for me, and so I over the water; and in his coach to Hackney, a very fine, cold, clear, frosty day. At his house, I find him with a plain little dinner, good wine, and welcome. He is still a prating man; and, the more I know him, the less I find in him. A pretty house he hath here indeed, of his own building. His old mother was an object at dinner that made me not like it; and, after dinner, to visit his sick wife I did not also take much joy in.

18th. To the 'Change, and walked as low as Ducke Lane, and enquired for some Spanish books. Home by water to Greenwich, the river beginning to be very full of ice, so as I was a little frightened, but got home well, it being darke.

20th. Took Sir Ellis Layton to Captain Cocke's, where my Lord Brouncker and Lady Williams dine, and we all mighty merry; but Sir Ellis Layton one of the best companions at a meal in the world.

21st. At noon, all of us dined at Captain Cocke's at a good chine of beef, and other good meat; but, being all frost-bitten, was most of it unroast; but very merry, and a good dish of fowl we dressed ourselves. Mr Evelyn there, in very good humour.

22d. I to my Lord Brouncker's, and there spent the evening by my desire in seeing his Lordship open to pieces and make up again his watch, thereby being taught what I never knew before; and it is a thing very well worth my having seen, and am mightily pleased and satisfied with it. Somewhat vexed at a snappish answer Madam Williams did give me to herself, upon my speaking a free word to her in mirth, calling her a mad jade. She answered, we were not so well acquainted yet. But I was more at a letter from my Lord Duke Albemarle to-day, pressing us to continue our meetings for all Christmas, which, though everybody intended not to have done, yet I am concluded in it, who intended nothing less. The weather hath been frosty these eight or nine days, and so we hope for an abatement of the plague the next week, or else God have mercy upon us! for the plague will certainly continue the next year, if it do not.

23d. This day one come to me with four great turkies, as a present from Mr Deane, at Harwich, three of which my wife carried in the evening home with her to London in her coach.

24th. (Sunday.) To dinner, my landlady and her daughters with me, and had mince-pies, and very merry at a mischance her young son had, in the tearing of his new coat quite down the outside of his sleeve in the whole cloth. Then to church, and placed myself in the parson's pew under the pulpit, to hear Mrs Chamberlain in the next pew sing, who is daughter to Sir James Bunce, of whom I have heard much, and indeed she sings very finely.

25th. (Christmas day.) To church in the morning, and there saw a wedding in the church, which I have not seen many a day; and the young people so merry one with another! and strange to see what delight we married people have to see these poor fools decoyed into our condition, every man and woman gazing and smiling at them. Here I saw again my beauty Lethulier. Home to look over and settle my papers, both of my accounts private, and those of Tangier, which I have let go so long that it were impossible for any soul, had I died, to understand them, or ever come to good end in them. I hope God will never suffer me to come to that disorder again.

27th. Home to my wife, and angry about her desiring a maid yet, before the plague is quite over. It seems Mercer is troubled that she hath not one under her, but I will not venture my family by encreasing it, before it is safe.

30th. All the afternoon to my accounts; and there find myself, to my great joy, a great deal worth, above £4000, for which the Lord be praised! and is principally occasioned by my getting £500 of Cocke, for my profit in his bargains of prize goods, and from Mr Gauden's making me a present of £500 more, when I paid him £800 for Tangier.

31st. (Lord's day.) Thus ends this year, to my great joy, in this manner. I have raised my estate from £1300 in this year to £4400. I have got myself greater interest, I think, by my diligence, and my employments encreased by that of Treasurer for Tangier, and Surveyor of the Victualls. It is true we have gone through great melancholy because of the great plague, and I put to great charges by it, by keeping my family long at Woolwich; and myself and another part of my family, my clerks, at my charge, at Greenwich, and a maid at London; but I hope the King will

give us some satisfaction for that. But now the plague is abated almost to nothing, and I intending to get to London as fast as I can. The Dutch war goes on very ill, by reason of lack of money; having none to hope for, all being put into disorder by a new Act that is made as an experiment to bring credit to the Exchequer, for goods and money to be advanced upon the credit of that Act. The great evil of this year, and the only one indeed, is the fall of my Lord Sandwich, whose mistake about the prizes hath undone him, I believe, as to interest at Court; though sent, for a little palliating it, Ambassador into Spain, which he is now fitting himself for. But the Duke of Albemarle goes with the Prince to sea this next year, and my Lord is very meanly spoken of; and, indeed, his miscarriage about the prize-goods is not to be excused, to suffer a company of rogues to go away with ten times as much as himself, and the blame of all to be deservedly laid upon him. My whole family hath been well all this while, and all my friends I know of, saving my aunt Bell, who is dead, and some children of my cozen Sarah's, of the plague. But many of such as I know very well, dead; yet, to our great joy, the town fills apace, and shops begin to be open again. Pray God continue the plague's decrease! for that keeps the Court away from the place of business, and so all goes to rack as to publick matters, they at this distance not thinking of it.

1665-66

January 1st. Called up by five o'clock by Mr Tooker, who wrote, while I dictated to him, my business of the Pursers; and so, without eating or drinking, till three in the afternoon, to my great content, finished it.

2d. Up by candle-light again, and my business being done, to my Lord Brouncker's, and there find Sir J. Minnes and all his company, and Mr Boreman and Mrs Turner, but, above all, my dear Mrs Knipp, with whom I sang, and in perfect pleasure I was to hear her sing, and especially her little Scotch song of "Barbary Allen"; and to make our mirth the completer, Sir J. Minnes was in the highest pitch of mirth, and his mimick tricks, that ever I saw, and most excellent pleasant company he is, and the best musique that ever I saw, and certainly would have made an excellent actor, and now would be an excellent teacher of actors. Then, it being past night, against my will, took leave.

3d. I to the Duke of Albemarle and back again : and, at the Duke's, with great joy, I received the good news of the decrease of the plague this week to 70, and but 253 in all ; which is the least Bill hath been known these twenty years in the City, though the want of people in London is it, that must make it so low, below the ordinary number for Bills. So home, and find all my good company I had bespoke, as Colman and his wife, and Laneare, Knipp and her surly husband ; and good musick we had, and among other things, Mr Coleman sang my words I set, of " Beauty, retire," and they praise it mightily. Then to dancing and supper, and mighty merry till Mr Rolt come in, whose pain of the toothache made him no company, and spoilt ours : so he away, and then my wife's teeth fell of aching, and she to bed. So forced to break up all with a good song, and so to bed.

12th. I and my Lord Brouncker by coach a little way, for discourse sake, till our coach broke, and tumbled me over him quite down the side of the coach, falling on the ground about the stockes, but up again. To my poor wife, who works all day at home like a horse, at the making of her hangings for our chamber and the bed.

13th. Home with his Lordship to Mrs Williams's, in Covent Garden, to dinner, the first time I ever was there, and there met Captain Cocke ; and pretty merry, though not perfectly so, because of the fear that there is of a great encrease again of the plague this week.

14th. (Lord's day.) Long in bed, till raised by my new taylor, Mr Penny, who comes and brings me my new velvet coat, very handsome, but plain. At noon eat the second of the two cygnets Mr Shepley sent us for a new year's gift. This afternoon, after sermon, comes my dear fair beauty of the Exchange, Mrs Batelier, brought by her sister, an acquaintance of Mercer's, to see my wife. I saluted her with as much pleasure as I had done any a great while. We sat and talked together an hour, with infinite pleasure to me, and so the fair creature went away, and proves one of the modestest women and pretty, that ever I saw in my life, and my wife judges her so, too.

19th. It is a remarkable thing how infinitely naked all that end of the town, Covent Garden, is, at this day, of people, while the City is almost as full again of people as ever it was.

20th. I sent my boy home for some papers, where, he staying longer than I would have him, I become angry, and boxed my boy

when he come, that I do hurt my thumb so much, that I was not able to stir all the day after, and in great pain.

23d. Good news beyond all expectation of the decrease of the plague, being now but 79, and the whole but 272. So home with comfort to bed. A most furious storme all night and morning.

24th. My Lord [Brouncker] and I, the weather being a little fairer, by water to Deptford, to Sir G. Carteret's house, where W. Howe met us, and there we opened the chests, and saw the poor sorry rubys which have caused all this ado to the undoing of W. Howe; though I am not much sorry for it, because of his pride and ill nature. About 200 of these very small stones, and a cod of muske, which it is strange I was not able to smell, is all we could find; so locked them up again, and my Lord and I, the wind being again very furious, so as we durst not go by water, walked to London quite round the bridge, no boat being able to stirre; and, Lord! what a dirty walk we had, and so strong the wind, that in the fields we many times could not carry our bodies against it, but were driven backwards. We went through Horslydowne, where I never was since a boy, that I went to enquire after my father, whom we did give over for lost coming from Holland. It was dangerous to walk the streets, the bricks and tiles falling from the houses, that the whole streets were covered with them; and whole chimneys, nay, whole houses, in two or three places, blowed down. But, above all, the pales of London Bridge, on both sides, were blown away, so that we were fain to stoop very low for fear of blowing off of the bridge. We could see no boats in the Thames afloat, but what were broke loose, and carried through the bridge, it being ebbing water. And the greatest sight of all was, among other parcels of ships driven here and there in clusters together; one was quite overset, and lay with her masts all along in the water, and keel above water.

25th. It is now certain that the King of France hath publicly declared war against us, and God knows how little fit we are for it.

26th. Pleased mightily with what my poor wife hath been doing these eight or ten days with her own hands, like a drudge, in fitting the new hangings of our bedchamber of blue, and putting the old red ones into my dressing-room.

28th. (Lord's day.) Took coach, and to Hampton Court, where we find the King, and Duke, and Lords, all in council; so we walked up and down: there being none of the ladies come,

and so much the more business I hope will be done. The Council being up, out comes the King, and I kissed his hand, and he grasped me very kindly by the hand. The Duke also, I kissed his, and he mighty kind, and Sir W. Coventry. I found my Lord Sandwich there, poor man ! I see with a melancholy face, and suffers his beard to grow on his upper lip more than usual. I took him a little aside, to know when I should wait on him, and where : he told me, that it would be best to meet at his lodgings, without being seen to walk together, which I liked very well ; and, Lord ! to see in what difficulty I stand, that I dare not walk with Sir W. Coventry, for fear my Lord or Sir G. Carteret should see me ; nor with either of them, for fear Sir W. Coventry should. I went down into one of the Courts, and there met the King and Duke ; and the Duke called me to him. And the King come to me of himself, and told me, " Mr Pepys," says he, " I do give you thanks for your good service all this year, and I assure you I am very sensible of it." And the Duke of York did tell me with pleasure, that he had read over my discourse about pursers, and would have it ordered in my way, and so fell from one discourse to another. I walked with them quite out of the Court into the fields, and then back, and to my Lord Sandwich's chamber, where I find him very melancholy, and not well satisfied, I perceive, with my carriage to Sir G. Carteret, but I did satisfy him that I have a very hard game to play ; and he told me that he was sorry to see it, and the inconveniences which likely may fall upon me with him ; but, for all that, I am not much afraid, if I can but keep out of harm's way. He hath got over the business of the prizes, so far as to have a privy seal passed for all that was in his distribution to the officers, which I am heartily glad of ; and, for the rest, he must be answerable for what he is proved to have. But for his pardon for anything else, he thinks it not seasonable to ask it, and not useful to him ; because that will not stop a Parliament's mouth, and for the King, he is not sure of him. Took boat, and by water to Kingston, and so to our lodgings.

[February] 4th. (Lord's day.) My wife and I the first time together at church since the plague, and now only because of Mr Mills his coming home to preach his first sermon ; expecting a great excuse for his leaving the parish before any body went, and now staying till all are come home ; but he made but a very poor and short excuse, and a bad sermon. It was a frost, and had snowed

last night, which covered the graves in the churchyard, so as I was the less afraid for going through. My wife tells me my aunt James is lately dead of the stone.

10th. To the office. This day comes first Sir Thomas Harvey after the plague, having been out of town all this while. He was coldly received by us, and he went away before we rose also, to make himself appear a man less necessary. To supper, and to bed, being now-a-days, for these four or five months, mightily troubled with my snoring in my sleep, and know not how to remedy it.

11th. (Lord's day.) Up, and put on a new black cloth suit to an old coat, that I make to be in mourning at Court, where they are all, for the King of Spain. I to the Park, and walked two or three turnes of the Pell Mell with the company about the King and Duke; the Duke speaking to me a good deal. There met Lord Brouncker and Mr Coventry, and discoursed about the Navy business; and all of us much at a loss that we yet can hear nothing of Sir Jeremy Smith's fleete, that went away to the Streights the middle of December, through all the storms that we have had since, that have driven back three or four of them, with their masts by the board. Yesterday came out the King's Declaration of War against the French, but with such mild invitations of both them and the Dutch, to come over here, with promise of their protection, that every body wonders at it.

12th. Comes Mr Cæsar, my boy's lute-master, whom I have not seen since the plague before, but he hath been in Westminster all this while, very well; and tells me, in the height of it, how bold people there were, to go in sport to one another's burials; and in spite, too, ill people would breathe in the faces, out of their windows, of well people going by.

13th. Ill news this night, that the plague is encreased this week, and in many places else about the town, and at Chatham and elsewhere.

15th. We hear this night of Sir Jeremy Smith, that he and his fleete have been seen at Malaga; which is good news.

21st. My brother John is shortly to be Master in Arts, and writes me this week a Latin letter that he is to go into orders this Lent. To the Duke's chamber, and here the Duke did bring out a book of great antiquity, of some of the customs of the Navy, about 100 years since, which he did lend us to read, and deliver him back again. To Trinity-house, being invited to an Elder

Brother's feast; and there met and sat by Mr Prin, and had good discourse about the privileges of Parliament, which, he says, are few to the Commons' House, and those not examinable by them, but only by the House of Lords. Thence with my Lord Brouncker to Gresham College, the first time after the sickness that I was there, and the second time any met. And here a good lecture of Mr Hooke's about the trade of felt-making, very pretty; and anon he alone with me about the art of drawing pictures by Prince Rupert's rule and machine, and another of Dr Wren's; but he says nothing do like squares, or, which is the best in the world, like a dark roome.

23d. Comes Mrs Knipp to see my wife, and I spent all the night talking with this baggage, and teaching her my song of "Beauty, retire," which she sings and makes go most rarely, and a very fine song it seems to be. She also entertained me with repeating many of her own and others' parts of the play-house, which she do most excellently; and tells me the whole practices of the play-house and players, and is in every respect most excellent company. So I supped, and was merry at home all the evening, and the rather it being my birthday 33 years, for which God be praised that I am in so good a condition of health and estate, and everything else as I am, beyond expectation, in all.

March 1st. Blessed be God! a good Bill this week we have; being but 237 in all, and 42 of the plague, and of them but six in the City: though my Lord Brouncker says, that these six are most of them in new parishes, where they were not the last week.

2d. To Sir Philip Warwick's, by appointment. He shewed me his house, which is yet all unhung, but will be a very noble house indeed. Mr James Houblon told me in my eare this night that he and his brothers have resolved to give me £200 for helping them out with two or three ships. A good sum, and I did expect little less.

3d. To Hales's, and there saw my wife sit; and I do like her picture mightily, and very like it will be, and a brave piece of work; but he do complain that her nose hath cost him as much work as another's face, and he hath done it finely indeed.

4th. (Lord's day.) All day at my Tangier and private accounts, having neglected them since Christmas, which I hope I shall never do again; for I find the inconvenience of it, it being ten times the labour to remember and settle things. But I thank God I did it at last, and brought them all fine and right; and I am, I think,

by all appears to me—and I am sure I cannot be £10 wrong—worth about £4600, for which the Lord be praised, being the biggest sum I ever was worth yet.

6th. In the evening, being at Sir W. Batten's, I find my Lord Brouncker and Mrs Williams, and they would of their own accord, though I had never obliged them, nor my wife neither, with one visit for many of theirs, go see my house and my wife; which I showed them, and made them welcome with wine and China oranges, now a great rarity since the war, none to be had. My house happened to be mighty clean, and did me great honour, and they mightily pleased with it.

8th. To Hales's, where my wife is sitting; and, indeed, her face and neck, which are now finished, do so please me, that I am not myself almost in consideration of the fine picture that I shall be master of.

10th. I find at home Mrs Pierce and Knipp come to dine with me. We were mighty merry; and, after dinner, I carried them and my wife out by coach to the New Exchange, and there I did give my Valentine, Mrs Pierce, a dozen pair of gloves, and a pair of silk stockings, and Knipp for company, though my wife had, by my consent, laid out 20s. on her the other day, six pair of gloves. The truth is, I do indulge myself a little the more in pleasure, knowing that this is the proper age of my life to do it; and, out of my observation that most men that do thrive in the world do forget to take pleasure during the time that they are getting their estate, but reserve that till they have got one, and then it is too late for them to enjoy it.

13th. The plague encreased this week 29 from 28, though the total fallen from 238 to 207.

15th. To Hales, where I met my wife and people; and do find the picture, above all things, a most pretty picture, and mighty like my wife; and I asked him his price: he says £14; and, the truth is, I think he do deserve it.

17th. To Hales's, and paid him £14 for the picture, and £1 5s. for the frame. This day I began to sit, and he will make me, I think, a very fine picture. He promises it shall be as good as my wife's, and I to sit to have it full of shadows, and do almost break my neck looking over my shoulder to make the posture for him to work by. Home, having a great cold; so to bed, drinking butter-ale.

19th. After dinner, we walked to the King's playhouse, all in dirt, they being altering of the stage to make it wider. But God knows when they will begin to act again; but my business here was to see the inside of the stage and all the tiring-rooms and machines; and, indeed, it was a sight worthy seeing. But to see their clothes, and the various sorts, and what a mixture of things there was; here a wooden leg, there a ruff, here a hobby-horse, there a crown, would make a man split himself to see with laughing; and particularly Lacy's wardrobe, and Shotrell's. But then again to think how fine they show on the stage by candle-light, and how poor things they are to look at too near hand, is not pleasant at all. The machines are fine, and the paintings very pretty.

31st. To my accounts, but, Lord! what a deal of do I have to understand any part of them; for I have sat up these four nights till past twelve at night to master them, but cannot. However, I do see that I must be grown richer than I was by a good deal last month.

[April] 4th. Home, and, being washing-day, dined upon cold meat.

5th. At Viner's was shown the silver plates, made for Captain Cocke, to present to my Lord Brouncker; and I chose a dozen of the same weight to be bespoke for myself, which he told me yesterday he would give me. The plague is, to our great grief, encreased nine this week, though decreased a few in the total. And this encrease runs through many parishes, which makes us much fear the next year.

7th. To Hales's, and there find Mrs Pierce. She had done sitting the first time, and indeed her face is mighty like at first dash. About ten of the clock, W. Hewer comes to me to tell me that he left my wife well this morning at Bugden, which was great riding, and brings me a letter from her.

8th. (Lord's day.) To the Duke of York, where we all met to hear the debate between Sir Thomas Allen and Mr Wayth; the former complaining of the latter's ill usage of him at the late pay of his ship; but a very sorry, poor occasion we had for it. The Duke did determine it with great judgment, chiding both, but encouraging Wayth to continue to be a check to all captains in any thing to the King's right. And, indeed, I never did see the Duke do any thing more in order, nor with more judgement than

he did pass the verdict in this business. The Court full this morning of the news of Tom Cheffin's death, the King's closet-keeper. He was as well last night as ever, playing at tables in the house, and not very ill this morning at six o'clock, yet dead before seven : they think, of an imposthume in his breast. But it looks fearfully among people now-a-days, the plague, as we hear, encreasing every where again.

9th. By coach to Mrs Pierce's, and with her and Knipp, and Mrs Pierce's boy and girl, abroad, thinking to have been merry at Chelsey ; but being come almost to the house by coach near the water-side, a house alone—I think the Swan, a gentleman walking by called to us to tell us that the house was shut up of the sickness. So we, with great affright, turned back, being holden to the gentleman ; and went away, I, for my part, in great disorder, for Kensington.

10th. To the office, and again all the afternoon, the first time of our resolution to sit both forenoons and afternoons.

16th. Comes Mrs Mercer, and fair Mrs Turner, a neighbour of hers, to visit me. I staid a great while with them, being taken with this pretty woman, though a mighty silly, affected, citizen woman she is.

17th. To the office, but, Lord ! what a conflict I had with myself, my heart tempting me 1000 times to go abroad about some pleasure or other, notwithstanding the weather foul. However, I did not budge ; and, to my great content, did a great deal of business.

30th. I after dinner to even all my accounts of this month ; and, bless God ! I find myself, notwithstanding great expences of late ; viz., £80 now to pay for a necklace ; near £40 for a set of chairs and couch ; near £40 for my three pictures : yet I do gather, and am worth £5200. My wife comes home by and by, and hath pitched upon a necklace with three rows, which is a very good one, and £80 is the price. So ends this month with great layings-out. Good health and gettings, and advanced well in the whole of my estate, for which God make me thankful !

[May] 13th. (Lord's day.) To Westminster, and into St Margaret's Church, where I heard a young man play the fool upon the doctrine of Purgatory.

15th. I to my Lord Crewe's, who is very lately come to town, and he talked for half an hour of the business of the war, wherein

he is very doubtful, from our want of money, that we shall fail ; and I do concur with him therein.

16th. To the Exchequer, where the lazy rogues have not yet done my tallys, which vexes me. To Mr Hales, and paid him for my picture, and Mr Hill's, for the first £14 for the picture, and 25s. for the frame, and for the other £7 for the picture, it being a copy of his only, and 5s. for the frame : in all, £22 10s. I am very well satisfied in my pictures, and so took them in another coach home : with great pleasure my wife and I hung them.

19th. Mr Deane and I did discourse about his ship *Rupert*, built by him, which succeeds so well as he hath got great honour by it, and I some, by recommending him ; the King, Duke, and every body, saying it is the best ship that was ever built. And then he fell to explain to me his manner of casting the draught of water which a ship will draw beforehand : which is a secret the King and all admire in him ; and he is the first that hath come to any certainty beforehand, of foretelling the draught of water of a ship before she be launched.

20th. (Lord's day.) With my wife to church. At noon dined mighty nobly, ourselves alone. After dinner, my wife and Mercer by coach to Greenwich, to be gossip to Mrs Daniel's child. I discoursed awhile with Mr Yeabsly, whom I met and took up in my coach with me, and who hath this day presented my Lord Ashly with £100 to bespeak his friendship to him in his accounts now before us : and my Lord hath received it, and so I believe is as bad, as to bribes, as what the world says of him. My wife much pleased with the reception she had, and she was god-mother, and did hold the child at the Font, and it is called John.

25th. Captain Cocke tells me my silver plates are ready for me, and shall be sent me speedily ; and proposes another proposition of serving us with a thousand tons of hemp, and tells me it shall bring me £500 if the bargain go forward, which is a good word. A gentleman arrived here this day, Mr Brown, of St Maloes, among other things, tells me the meaning of the setting out of dogs every night out of the town walls, which are said to secure the city ; but it is not so, but only to secure the anchors, cables, and ships that lie dry, which might otherwise in the night be liable to be robbed. And these dogs are set out every night, and called together in, every morning, by a man with a horne, and they go in very orderly.

27th. (Lord's day.) To church, my wife with me. Home to dinner, whither come my uncle Wight, and aunt and uncle Norbury.

29th. King's birthday, and Restoration day. Waked with the ringing of bells all over the town : so up before five o'clock, and to the office. My wife comes to me, to tell me, that if I would see the handsomest woman in England, I shall come home presently ; and who should it be but the pretty lady of our parish, that did heretofore sit on the other side of our church, over against our gallery, that is since married—she with Mrs Anne Jones, one of this parish, that dances finely. And so I home ; and indeed she is a pretty black woman—her name Mrs Horsely. But, Lord ! to see how my nature could not refrain from the temptation ; but I must invite them to go to Foxhall, to Spring Gardens, though I had freshly received minutes of a great deal of extraordinary business. However, I sent them before with Creed, and I did some of my business ; and so after them, and find them there, in an arbour, and had met with Mrs Pierce, and some company with her. So here I spent 20s. upon them, and were pretty merry. Among other things, had a fellow that imitated all manner of birds, and dogs, and hogs, with his voice, which was mighty pleasant. Staid here till night : then set Mrs Pierce in at the New Exchange ; and ourselves took coach, and so set Mrs Horsly home, and then home ourselves, but with great trouble in the streets, by bonfires, it being the King's birth-day and day of Restoration ; but, Lord ! to see the difference how many there were on the other side, and so few on ours, the City side of the Temple, would make one wonder the difference between the temper of one sort of people and the other : and the difference among all between what they do now, and what it was the night when Monk come into the City. Such a night as that I never think to see again, nor think it can be.

31st. Saw all my family up, and my father and sister, who is a pretty good-bodied woman, and not over thicke, as I thought she would have been, but full of freckles, and not handsome in face. To dinner with my father and sister and family, mighty pleasant all of us ; and among other things, with a sparrow that our Mercer hath brought up now for three weeks, which is so tame, that it flies up and down, and upon the table, and eats and pecks, and do everything so pleasantly, that we are mightily pleased with it. A public Fast-day, appointed to pray for the good success of the fleet.

But it is a pretty thing to consider how little a matter they make of this keeping of a fast, that it was not so much as declared time enough to be read in the churches, the last Sunday ; but ordered by proclamation since : I suppose upon some sudden news of the Dutch being come out.

June 1st. Dined at aunt Wight's. Here dined the fair Mrs Margaret Wight, who is a very fine lady, but the cast of her eye, got only by an ill habit, do her much wrong, and her hands are bad ; but she hath the face of a noble Roman lady.

2d. Up, and to the office, where certain news is brought us of a letter come to the King this morning from the Duke of Albemarle, dated yesterday at eleven o'clock, as they were sailing to the Gunfleete, that they were in sight of the Dutch fleete, and were fitting themselves to fight them ; so that they are, ere this, certainly engaged : besides, several do averr that they heard the guns yesterday in the afternoon. This put us at the Board into a tosse. Presently come orders for our sending away to the fleete a recruit of 200 soldiers. So I rose from the table, and to the Vic-tualling-office, and thence upon the river among several vessels, to consider of the sending them away ; and, lastly, down to Greenwich, and there appointed two yachts to be ready for them ; and did order the soldiers to march to Blackewall. Having set all things in order against the next flood, I went on shore with Captain Erwin at Greenwich, and into the Parke, and there we could hear the guns from the fleete most plainly. We walked to the water-side, and there, seeing the King and Duke come down in their barge to Greenwich-house, I to them, and did give them an account what I was doing. They went up to the park to hear the guns of the fleete go off. All our hopes now are, that Prince Rupert with his fleete is coming back, and will be with the fleete this even : a message being sent to him for that purpose, on Wednesday last ; and a return is come from him this morning, that he did intend to sail from St Ellen's point about four in the afternoon yesterday ; which gives us great hopes, the wind being very fair, that he is with them this even, and the fresh going off of the guns makes us believe the same. Down to Blackewall, and there saw the soldiers, who were by this time gotten most of them drunk, shipped off. But, Lord ! to see how the poor fellows kissed their wives and sweethearts in that simple manner at their going off, and shouted, and let off their guns, was strange sport. In the

evening come up the river the Catharine yacht, Captain Fazeby, who hath brought over my Lord of Aylesbury, and Sir Thomas Liddall, with a very pretty daughter, and in a pretty travelling-dress, from Flanders, who saw the Dutch fleete on Thursday, and ran from them; but from that hour to this hath not heard one gun, nor any news of any fight. Having put the soldiers on board, I home.

4th. To White Hall, where, when we come, we find the Duke at St James's, whither he is lately gone to lodge. So, walking through the Park, we saw hundreds of people listening at the Gravel-pits, and to and again in the Park, to hear the guns.

6th. By water to St James's, it being a monthly fast-day for the plague. There we all met, and did our business as usual with the Duke. By and by walking a little further, Sir Philip Frowde did meet the Duke with an express to Sir W. Coventry, who was by, from Captain Taylor, the Storekeeper at Harwich, being the narration of Captain Hayward of the *Dunkirke*; who gives a very serious account, how upon Monday the two fleets fought all day, till seven at night, and then the whole fleete of Dutch did betake themselves to a very plain flight, and never looked back again. That Sir Christopher Mings is wounded in the leg; that the Generall is well. That it is conceived reasonably, that of all the Dutch fleete, which, with what recruits they had, come to one hundred sail, there is not above fifty got home; and of them, few, if any, of their flags. And that little Captain Bell, in one of the fire-ships, did at the end of the day fire a ship of 70 guns. At home, drawing up my vows for the rest of the year, to Christmas; but, Lord! to see in what a condition of happiness I am, if I would but keep myself so; but my love of pleasure is such, that my very soul is angry with itself for its vanity in so doing. Home, and my father and wife not coming in, I proceeded with my coach to take a little ayre as far as Bow all alone, and there turned back; but, before I got home, the bonfires were lighted all the town over. Idled away the whole night, till twelve at night, at the bonfire in the streets. Some of the people thereabouts going about with musquets, and did give me two or three vollies of their musquets, I giving them a crown to drink; and so home. Mightily pleased with this happy day's news, and the more, because confirmed by Sir Daniel Harvy, who was in the whole fight with the Generall, and tells me that there appear but thirty-six in all of the Dutch

fleete left at the end of the voyage when they run home. The joy of the City was this night exceeding great.

20th. Up, but in some pain of the collique. I have of late taken too much cold by washing my feet, and going in a thin silk waistcoat, without any other coat over it, and open-breasted.

22d. Up, and before I went out Mr Peter Barr sent me a tierce of claret, which is very welcome. All day upon my Tangier accounts; my father, wife, and sister, late abroad on the water.

28th. The Dutch are now known to be out, and we may expect them every hour upon our coast. But our fleete is in pretty good readiness for them.

29th. To the office; where I met with a letter from Dover, which tells me, and it come by express, that news is brought over by a gentleman from Callice, that the Dutch fleete, 130 sail, are come upon the French coast; and that the country is bringing in pick-axes, and shovells, and wheel-barrows into Callice; that there are 6000 men armed on head, back, and breast, Frenchmen, ready to go on board the Dutch fleete, and will be followed by 1200 more. That they pretend they are to come to Dover; and that thereupon the Governor of Dover Castle is getting the victuallers' provision out of the town into the Castle to secure it. But I do think this is a ridiculous conceit; but a little time will show.

July 1st. (Lord's day.) Comes Sir W. Pen to town, which I little expected, having invited my Lady and her daughter Pegg to dine with me to-day; which at noon they did, and Sir W. Pen with them; and pretty merry we were. And, though I do not love him, yet I find it necessary to keep in with him; his good service at Shearnesse in getting out the fleete being much taken notice of, and reported to the King and Duke, even from the Prince and Duke of Albemarle themselves, and made the most of to me and them by Sir W. Coventry; therefore, I think it discretion, great and necessary discretion, to keep in with him. To the Tower several times, about the business of the pressed men, and late at it till twelve at night, shipping of them. But, Lord! how some poor women did cry; and in my life I never did see such natural expression of passion as I did here, in some women's bewailing themselves, and running to every parcel of men that were brought, one after another, to look for their husbands, and wept over every vessel that went off, thinking they might be there, and looking after the ship as far as ever they could by moone-light,

that it grieved me to the heart to hear them. Besides, to see poor, patient, labouring men and housekeepers, leaving poor wives and families, taken up on a sudden by strangers, was very hard, and that without press-money, but forced against all law to be gone. It is a great tyranny.

4th. Thanks be to God ! the plague is, as I hear, increased but two this week ; but in the country, in several places, it rages mightily, and particularly in Colchester, where it hath long been, and is believed will quite depopulate the place. In the evening, Sir W. Pen came to me, and we walked together, and talked of the late fight. I find him very plain, that the whole conduct of the late fight was ill ; that two-thirds of the commanders of the whole fleete have told him so : they all saying, that they durst not oppose it at the Council of War, for fear of being called cowards, though it was wholly against their judgement to fight that day, with the disproportion of force ; and then, we not being able to use one gun of our lower tier, which was a greater disproportion than the other. Besides, we might very well have staid in the Downs without fighting, or any where else, till the Prince could have come up to them ; or at least, till the weather was fair, that we might have the benefit of our whole force in the ships that we had. He says, three things must be remedied, or else we shall be undone by this fleete. 1. That we must fight in a line, whereas we fight promiscuously, to our utter and demonstrable ruine : the Dutch fighting otherwise ; and we, whenever we beat them.—2. We must not desert ships of our own in distress, as we did, for that makes a captain desperate, and he will fling away his ship, when there are no hopes left him of succour.—3. That ships, when they are a little shattered, must not take the liberty to come in of themselves, but refit themselves the best they can, and stay out—many of our ships coming in with very small disablement. He told me that our very commanders, nay, our very flag-officers, do stand in need of exercising among themselves, and discoursing the business of commanding a fleete ; he telling me, that even one of our flag-men in the fleete did not know which tacke lost the wind, or kept it, in the last engagement. He says, it was pure dismaying and fear that made them all run upon the *Gallopier*, not having their wits about them ; and that it was a miracle they were not all lost.

7th. Creed tells me, he finds all things mighty dull at Court ; and that they now begin to lie long in bed ; it being, as we sup-

pose, not seemly for them to be found playing and gaming as they used to be ; nor that their minds are at ease enough to follow those sports, and yet not knowing how to employ themselves, though there be work enough for their thoughts and councils and pains, they keep long in bed. But he thinks with me, that there is nothing in the world can help us but the King's personal looking after his business and his officers, and that, with that, we may yet do well ; but otherwise must be undone ; nobody at this day taking care of any thing, nor hath any body to call him to account for it. To bed ; and it proved the hottest night that ever I was in in my life, and thundered and lightened all night long, and rained hard. But, Lord ! to see in what fear I lay a good while, hearing of a little noise of somebody walking in the house : so rung the bell, and it was my maids going to bed about one o'clock in the morning. But the fear of being robbed, having so much money in the house, was very great, and is still so, and do much disquiet me.

15th. (Lord's day.) To church, where our lecturer made a sorry silly sermon, upon the great point of proving the truth of the Christian religion. Walked to the Park, and there, it being mighty hot and I weary, lay down by the canalle, upon the grass, and slept a while, and was thinking of a lampoon which hath run in my head this week, to make up the late fight at sea, and the mis-carriages there ; but other businesses put it out of my head, and so home, and there drank a great deal of small beer ; and so took up my wife and Betty Michell and her husband, and away into the fields, to take the ayre, as far as beyond Hackney, and so back again, in our way drinking a great deal of milke, which I drank to take away my heartburne. Home, and to bed in some pain, and fear of more. In mighty pain all night long, which I impute to the milk that I drank upon so much beer, and the cold, to my washing my feet the night before.

24th. Busy very late, till midnight, drawing up a representation of the state of my victualling business to the Duke in writing, I now having had the advantage of having had two fleetes despatched in better condition than ever any fleetes were yet, I believe—at least, with less complaint ; and by this means I shall with the better confidence get my bills out for my salary.

25th. At White Hall ; we find the Court gone to Chapel, it being St James's-day. And, by the by, while they are at chapel,

and we waiting chapel being done, come people out of the Park, telling us that the guns are heard plainly.

28th. To the Pope's Head, where my Lord Brouncker dined, and Commissioner Pett, Dr Charleton, and myself, were entertained with a venison pasty by Sir W. Warren. Here very pretty discourse of Dr Charleton's, concerning Nature's fashioning every creature's teeth according to the food she intends them; and that men's, it is plain, was not for flesh, but fruit, and that he can at any time tell the food of a beast unknown by the teeth; and that all children love fruit, and none brought to flesh, but against their wills, at first. Thence with my Lord to his coach-house, and there put in six horses into his coach, and he and I alone to Highgate. Being come thither, we went to my Lord Lauderdale's house to speak with him, and find him and his lady, and some Scotch people, at supper: pretty odd company, though, my Lord Brouncker tells me, my Lord Lauderdale is a man of mighty good reason and judgement. But at supper there played one of their servants upon the viallin some Scotch tunes only; several, and the best of their country, as they seemed to esteem them, by their praising and admiring them: but, Lord! the strangest ayre that ever I heard in my life, and all of one cast. But strange to hear my Lord Lauderdale say himself that he had rather hear a cat mew, than the best musique in the world; and the better the musique, the more sick it makes him; and that of all instruments, he hates the lute most, and, next to that, the bagpipe.

30th. Home; and to sing with my wife and Mercer in the garden; and coming in, I find my wife plainly dissatisfied with me, that I can spend so much time with Mercer, teaching her to sing, and could never take the pains with her, which I acknowledge; but it is because that the girl do take musick mighty readily, and she do not, and musick is the thing of the world that I love most, and all the pleasure almost that I can now take. So to bed, in some little discontent, but no words from me.

31st. The Court empty, the King being gone to Tunbridge, and the Duke of York a-hunting. I had some discourse with Povy, who is mightily discontented, I find, about his disappointments at Court; and says, of all places, if there be hell, it is here; no faith, no truth, no love, nor any agreement between man and wife, nor friends. He would have spoke broader, but I put it off to another time; and so parted. Povy went down to Mr Williamson's, and

brought me up this extract out of the Flanders letters, to-day come : That Admiral Everson, and the Admiral and Vice-Admiral of Freezeland, with many captains and men, are slain ; that De Ruyter is safe, but lost 250 men out of his own ship ; but that he is in great disgrace, and Trump in better favour ; that Bankert's ship is burned, himself hardly escaping with a few men on board De Haes ; that fifteen captains are to be tried the seventh of August ; and that the hangman was sent from Flushing to assist the Council of War. How much of this is true, time will show. Mighty well, and end this month in content of mind and body. The public matters looking more safe for the present than they did, and we having a victory of the Dutch just such as I could have wished, and as the kingdom was fit to bear—enough to give us the name of conquerors, and leave us masters of the sea, but without any such great matters done as should give the Duke of Albemarle any honour at all, or give him cause to rise to his former insolence.

August 1st. Walked over the Park with Sir W. Coventry, who I clearly see is not thoroughly pleased with the late management of the fight, nor with any thing that the Generals do ; only is glad to hear that De Ruyter is out of favour, and that this fight hath cost them 5000 men, as they themselves do report.

2d. To the office, where we sat, and in discourse at the table with Sir W. Batten, I was obliged to tell him it was an untruth, which did displease him mightily, and parted at noon very angry with me. Balty's wife is in great pain for her husband, not hearing of him since the fight ; but I understand he was not in it, going hence too late.

6th. To my Lady Montagu's, at Westminster, and there visited my Lord Hinchinbroke, newly come from Hinchinbroke, and find him a mighty sober gentleman, to my great content. So home ; and there do hear also from Mrs Sarah Daniel, that Greenwich is at this time much worse than ever it was, and Deptford too : and she told us that they believed all the town would leave the town, and come to London ; which is now the receptacle of all the people from all infected places. God preserve us ! After dinner, in comes Mrs Knipp, and I sat and talked with her. I very pleasant to her, but perceive my wife hath no great pleasure in her being here. However, we talked and sang, and were very pleasant. By and by comes Mr Pierce and his wife. Knipp and I sang, and then I offered to carry them home, and to take my wife with me, but she

would not go : so I with them, leaving my wife in a very ill humour. However, I would not be removed from my civility to them, but sent for a coach, and went with them ; and in our way, Knipp saying that she come out of doors without a dinner to us, I took them to Old Fish-street, to the very house and woman where I kept my wedding dinner, where I never was since, and there I did give them a jole of salmon, and what else was to be had. And here we talked of the ill-humour of my wife, which I did excuse as much as I could, and they seemed to admit of it, but did both confess they wondered at it. I set them both at home—Knipp at her house, her husband being at the doore ; and glad she was to be found to have staid out so long with me and Mrs Pierce, and none else. Home, and there find my wife mightily out of order, and reproaching of Mrs Pierce and Knipp as wenches, and I know not what. But I did give her no words to offend her, and quietly let all pass.

7th. Comes Mr Reeve, with a twelve-foote glasse. Up to the top of the house, and there we endeavoured to see the moon, and Saturn and Jupiter, but the heavens proved cloudy, and so we lost our labour, having taken pains to get things together, in order to the managing of our new glasse. I receive fresh intelligence that Deptford and Greenwich are now afresh exceedingly afflicted with the sickness more than ever.

8th. Discoursed with Mr Hooke about the nature of sounds, and he did make me understand the nature of musically sounds made by strings, mighty prettily ; and told me that having come to a certain number of vibrations proper to make any tone, he is able to tell how many strokes a fly makes with her wings, those flies that hum in their flying, by the note that it answers to in musique, during their flying. That, I suppose, is a little too much refined ; but his discourse in general of sound was mighty fine.

9th. Mightily pleased with a Virgin's head that my wife is now drawing of. I met with Mr Evelyn in the street, who tells me the sad condition at this very day at Deptford, for the plague, and more at Deale, within his precinct, as one of the Commissioners for sick and wounded seamen, that the towne is almost quite depopulated.

12th. (Lord's day.) I and my wife up to her closet, to examine her kitchen accounts, and there I took occasion to fall out with her, for her buying a laced handkercher and pinner without

my leave. From this we began both to be angry, and so continued till bed.

13th. Up, without being friends with my wife, nor great enemies, being both quiet and silent. To Paul's churchyard, to treat with a bookbinder to come and gild the backs of all my books, to make them handsome, to stand in my new presses.

15th. Mighty sleepy; slept till past eight of the clock, and was called up by a letter from Sir W. Coventry; which, among other things, tells me how we have burned one hundred and sixty ships of the enemy within the Fly. I up, and with all possible haste, and in pain for fear of coming late, it being our day of attending the Duke of York, to St James's, where they are full of the particulars; how they are generally good merchant-ships, some of them laden and supposed rich ships. We spent five fire-ships upon them. We landed on the Schelling, Sir Philip Howard with some men, and Holmes, I think, with others, about 1000 in all, and burned a town; and so come away. By and by the Duke of York, with his books, showed us the very place and manner: and that it was not our design and expectation to have done this, but only to have landed on the Fly, and burned some of their stores; but, being come in, we spied those ships, and with our long boats, one by one, fired them, our ships running all a-ground, it being so shoal water. We were led to this by, it seems, a renegado captain of the Hollanders, who found himself ill used by De Ruyter for his good service, and so come over to us, and hath done us good service; so that now we trust him, and he himself did go on this expedition. The service is very great, and our joys as great for it. All this will make the Duke of Albemarle in repute again, I doubt. Down the river, reading *The Adventures of five houres*, which, the more I read, the more I admire. The guns of the Tower going off, and there being bonfires also in the street for this late good successe.

17th. Down by water to Woolwich, and had a piece of bride-cake sent me by Mrs Barbary into the boate after me, she being here at her uncle's, with her husband, Mr Wood's son, and mighty nobly married. They say she was very fine, and he very rich—a strange fortune for so odd a looked maid, though her hands and body be good, and nature very good, I think. With Captain Erwin, discoursing about the East Indys, where he hath often been. And, among other things, he tells me how the King of Syam seldom goes out without thirty or forty thousand people with him, and

not a word spoke, nor a hum or cough in the whole company to be heard. He tells me, the punishment frequently there for malefactors, is cutting off the crowne of their head, which they do very dexterously, leaving their brains bare, which kills them presently. He told me what I remember he hath once done heretofore; that every body is to lie flat down at the coming by of the King, and nobody to look upon him upon pain of death. And that he and his fellows, being strangers, were invited to see the sport of taking a wild elephant; and they did only kneel, and look towards the King. Their druggerman did desire them to fall down, for otherwise he should suffer for their contempt of the King. The sport being ended, a messenger comes from the King, which the druggerman thought had been to have taken away his life; but it was to enquire how the strangers liked the sport. The druggerman answered, that they did cry it up to be the best that ever they saw, and that they never heard of any Prince so great in every thing as this King. The messenger being gone back, Erwin and his company asked their druggerman what he had said, which he told them. "But why," they say, "would you say that without our leave, it being not true?"—"It makes no matter for that," says he; "I must have said it, or have been hanged; for our King do not live by meat, nor drink, but by having great lyes told him." In our way back, we come by a little vessel that come into the river this morning, and says she left the fleete in Sole Bay, and that she hath not heard, she belonging to Sir W. Jenings in the fleete, of any such prizes taken as the ten or twelve I enquired about, and said by Sir W. Batten yesterday to be taken, so I fear it is not true. I had the good fortune to see Mrs Stewart, who is grown a little too tall, but is a woman of most excellent features. The narrative of the late expedition in burning the ships is in print, and makes it a great thing; and I hope it is so. Sir Richard Ford did, very understandingly, methought, give us an account of the originall of the Hollands Bank, and the nature of it, and how they do never give any interest at all to any person that brings in their money, though what is brought in upon the public faith, interest is given by the State for. The unsafe condition of a Bank under a Monarch, and the little safety to a Monarch to have any; or Corporation alone, as London in answer to Amsterdam, to have so great a wealth or credit, it is, that makes it hard to have a Bank here. And, as to the former, he did tell us how it

sticks in the memory of most merchants how the late King, when, by the war between Holland and France and Spain, all the bullion of Spain was brought hither, one third of it to be coyned ; and indeed it was found advantageous to the merchant to coyne most of it, was persuaded in a strait, by my Lord Cottington, to seize upon the money in the Tower : which, though in a few days the merchants concerned did prevail to get it released, yet the thing will never be forgot. Sir John Minnes come home to-night, not well, from Chatham, where he hath been at a pay, holding it at Upnor Castle, because of the plague so much in the towne of Chatham. He hath, they say, got an ague, being so much on the water.

21st. Mr Batelier told me how, being with some others at Bourdeaux, making a bargain with another man at a tavern for some clarets, they did hire a fellow to thunder, which he had the art of doing, upon a deale board, and to rain and hail, that is, make the noise of, so as did give them a pretence of undervaluing their merchants' wines, by saying this thunder would spoil and turn them, which was so reasonable to the merchant, that he did abate two pistolls per ton for the wine, in belief of that.

22d. Mrs Knipp tells me, my song of "Beauty, Retire" is mightily cried up, which I am not a little proud of ; and do think I have done "It is Decreed" better, but I have not finished it. My closet is doing by an upholsterer, which I am pleased with, but fear my purple will be too sad for that melancholy room.

24th. Comes Sympson, to set up my other new presses for my books, to my most extraordinary satisfaction ; so that I think it will be as noble a closet as any man hath ; though, indeed, it would have been better to have had a little more light.

27th. Up, and to my new closet. Then to break open a window to the leads' side in my old closet, which will enlighten the room mightily, and make it mighty pleasant.

[September] 2d. (Lord's day.) Some of our maids sitting up late last night to get things ready against our feast to-day, Jane called us up about three in the morning, to tell us of a great fire they saw in the City. So I rose, and slipped on my night-gown, and went to her window ; and thought it to be on the back-side of Marke-lane at the farthest ; but, being unused to such fires as followed, I thought it far enough off ; and so went to bed again, and to sleep. About seven rose again to dress myself, and there

looked out at the window, and saw the fire not so much as it was, and further off. So to my closet to set things to rights, after yesterday's cleaning. By and by Jane comes and tells me that she hears that above 300 houses have been burned down to-night by the fire we saw, and that it is now burning down all Fish Street, by London Bridge. So I made myself ready presently, and walked to the Tower; and there got up upon one of the high places, Sir J. Robinson's little son going up with me; and there I did see the houses at that end of the bridge all on fire, and an infinite great fire on this and the other side the end of the bridge; which, among other people, did trouble me for poor little Michell and our Sarah on the bridge. So down, with my heart full of trouble, to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who tells me that it begun this morning in the King's baker's house in Pudding-lane, and that it hath burned down St Magnus's Church and most part of Fish Street already. So I down to the water-side, and there got a boat, and through bridge, and there saw a lamentable fire. Poor Michell's house, as far as the Old Swan, already burned that way, and the fire running further, that, in a very little time, it got as far as the Steele-yard, while I was there. Every body endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging into the river, or bringing them into lighters that lay off; poor people staying in their houses as long as till the very fire touched them, and then running into boats, or clambering from one pair of stairs, by the waterside, to another. And, among other things, the poor pigeons, I perceive, were loth to leave their houses, but hovered about the windows and balconys, till they burned their wings, and fell down. Having staid, and in an hour's time seen the fire rage every way; and nobody, to my sight, endeavouring to quench it, but to remove their goods, and leave all to the fire; and, having seen it get as far as the Steele-yard, and the wind mighty high, and driving it into the City; and everything, after so long a drought, proving combustible, even the very stones of churches; and, among other things, the poor steeple by which pretty Mrs — lives, and whereof my old schoolfellow Elborough is parson, taken fire in the very top, and there burned till it fell down; I to White Hall, with a gentleman with me, who desired to go off from the Tower, to see the fire, in my boat; and there up to the King's closet in the Chapel, where people come about me, and I did give them an account dismayed them all, and word was carried in to the King. So I was called for, and did tell

the King and Duke of York what I saw ; and that, unless his Majesty did command houses to be pulled down, nothing could stop the fire. They seemed much troubled, and the King commanded me to go to my Lord Mayor from him, and command him to spare no houses, but to pull down before the fire every way. The Duke of York bid me tell him, that if he would have any more soldiers, he shall ; and so did my Lord Arlington afterwards, as a great secret. Here meeting with Captain Cocke, I in his coach, which he lent me, and Creed with me to Paul's ; and there walked along Watling Street, as well as I could, every creature coming away loaden with goods to save, and, here and there, sick people carried away in beds. Extraordinary good goods carried in carts and on backs. At last met my Lord Mayor in Canning Street, like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck. To the King's message, he cried, like a fainting woman, " Lord ! what can I do ? I am spent : people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses ; but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it." That he needed no more soldiers ; and that, for himself, he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night. So he left me, and I him, and walked home ; seeing people all almost distracted, and no manner of means used to quench the fire. The houses, too, so very thick thereabouts, and full of matter for burning, as pitch and tar, in Thames Street ; and warehouses of oyle, and wines, and brandy, and other things. Here I saw Mr Isaac Houblon, the handsome man, prettily dressed and dirty at his door at Dowgate, receiving some of his brother's things, whose houses were on fire ; and, as he says, have been removed twice already ; and he doubts, as it soon proved, that they must be, in a little time, removed from his house also, which was a sad consideration. And to see the churches all filling with goods by people who themselves should have been quietly there at this time. By this time, it was about twelve o'clock ; and so home, and there find my guests, who were Mr Wood and his wife Barbary Shelden, and also Mr Moone : she mighty fine, and her husband, for aught I see, a likely man. But Mr Moone's design and mine, which was to look over my closet, and please him with the sight thereof, which he hath long desired, was wholly disappointed ; for we were in great trouble and disturbance at this fire, not knowing what to think of it. However, we had an extraordinary good dinner, and as merry as at this time we could be. While at dinner, Mrs Batelier came to enquire

after Mr Woolfe and Stanes, who, it seems, are related to them, whose houses in Fish Street are all burned, and they in a sad condition. She would not stay in the fright. Soon as dined, I and Moone away, and walked through the City, the streets full of nothing but people; and horses and carts loaden with goods, ready to run over one another, and removing goods from one burned house to another. They now removing out of Canning Street, which received goods in the morning, into Lombard Street, and further: and, among others, I now saw my little goldsmith Stokes, receiving some friend's goods, whose house itself was burned the day after. We parted at Paul's; he home, and I to Paul's Wharf, where I had appointed a boat to attend me, and took in Mr Carcasse and his brother, whom I met in the street, and carried them below and above bridge too. And again to see the fire, which was now got further, both below and above, and no likelihood of stopping it. Met with the King and Duke of York in their barge, and with them to Queenhithe, and there called Sir Richard Browne to them. Their order was only to pull down houses apace, and so below bridge at the water-side; but little was or could be done, the fire coming upon them so fast. Good hopes there was of stopping it at the Three Cranes above, and at Buttulph's Wharf below bridge, if care be used; but the wind carries it into the City, so as we know not, by the water-side, what it do there. River full of lighters and boats taking in goods, and good goods swimming in the water; and only I observed that hardly one lighter or boat in three that had the goods of a house in, but there was a pair of Virginalls in it. Having seen as much as I could now, I away to White Hall by appointment, and there walked to St James's Park; and there met my wife, and Creed, and Wood, and his wife, and walked to my boat; and there upon the water again, and to the fire up and down, it still encreasing, and the wind great. So near the fire as we could for smoke; and all over the Thames, with one's faces in the wind, you were almost burned with a shower of fire-drops. This is very true: so as houses were burned by these drops and flakes of fire, three or four, nay, five or six houses, one from another. When we could endure no more upon the water, we to a little alehouse on the Bankside, over against the Three Cranes, and there staid till it was dark almost, and saw the fire grow; and, as it grew darker, appeared more and more; and in corners and upon steeples, and between

churches and houses, as far as we could see up the hill of the City, in a most horrid, malicious, bloody flame, not like the fine flame of an ordinary fire. Barbary and her husband away before us. We staid till, it being darkish, we saw the fire as only one entire arch of fire from this to the other side the bridge, and in a bow up the hill for an arch of above a mile long : it made me weep to see it. The churches, houses, and all on fire, and flaming at once ; and a horrid noise the flames made, and the cracking of houses at their ruine. So home with a sad heart, and there find every body discoursing and lamenting the fire ; and poor Tom Hater come with some few of his goods saved out of his house, which was burned upon Fish Street Hill. I invited him to lie at my house, and did receive his goods ; but was deceived in his lying there, the news coming every moment of the growth of the fire ; so as we were forced to begin to pack up our own goods, and prepare for their removal ; and did by moonshine, it being brave, dry, and moonshine and warm weather, carry much of my goods into the garden ; and Mr Hater and I did remove my money and iron chests into my cellar, as thinking that the safest place. And got my bags of gold into my office, ready to carry away, and my chief papers of accounts also there, and my tallies into a box by themselves. So great was our fear, as Sir W. Batten hath carts come out of the country to fetch away his goods this night. We did put Mr Hater, poor man ! to bed a little ; but he got but very little rest, so much noise being in my house, taking down of goods.

3d. About four o'clock in the morning, my Lady Batten sent me a cart to carry away all my money, and plate, and best things, to Sir W. Rider's, at Bednall Greene, which I did, riding myself in my night-gown, in the cart ; and, Lord ! to see how the streets and the highways are crowded with people running and riding, and getting of carts at any rate to fetch away things. I find Sir W. Rider tired with being called up all night, and receiving things from several friends. His house full of goods, and much of Sir W. Batten's and Sir W. Pen's. I am eased at my heart to have my treasure so well secured. Then home, and with much ado to find a way, nor any sleep all this night to me nor my poor wife. But then all this day she and I and all my people labouring to get away the rest of our things, and did get Mr Tooker to get me a lighter to take them in, and we did carry them, myself some, over Tower

Hill, which was by this time full of people's goods, bringing their goods thither; and down to the lighter, which lay at the next quay, above the Tower Dock. And here was my neighbour's wife, Mrs —, with her pretty child, and some few of her things, which I did willingly give way to be saved with mine; but there was no passing with any thing through the postern, the crowd was so great. The Duke of York come this day by the office, and spoke to us, and did ride with his guard up and down the City to keep all quiet, he being now General, and having the care of all. This day, Mercer being not at home, but against her mistress's order gone to her mother's, and my wife going thither to speak with W. Hewer, beat her there, and was angry; and her mother saying that she was not a 'prentice girl, to ask leave every time she goes abroad, my wife with good reason was angry; and, when she come home, did bid her be gone again. And so she went away, which troubled me, but yet less than it would, because of the condition we are in, in fear of coming in a little time to being less able to keep one in her quality. At night, lay down a little upon a quilt of W. Hewer's in the office, all my own things being packed up or gone; and, after me, my poor wife did the like, we having fed upon the remains of yesterday's dinner, having no fire nor dishes, nor any opportunity of dressing any thing.

4th. Up by break of day, to get away the remainder of my things; which I did by a lighter at the Iron gate: and my hands so full, that it was the afternoon before we could get them all away. Sir W. Pen and I to the Tower Street, and there met the fire burning, three or four doors beyond Mr Howell's, whose goods, poor man, his trays, and dishes, shovells, &c., were flung all along Tower Street in the kennels, and people working therewith from one end to the other; the fire coming on in that narrow street, on both sides, with infinite fury. Sir W. Batten not knowing how to remove his wine, did dig a pit in the garden, and laid it in there; and I took the opportunity of laying all the papers of my office that I could not otherwise dispose of. And in the evening Sir W. Pen and I did dig another, and put our wine in it; and I my parmazan cheese, as well as my wine and some other things. The Duke of York was at the office this day, at Sir W. Pen's; but I happened not to be within. This afternoon, sitting melancholy with Sir W. Pen in our garden, and thinking of the certain burning of this office, without extraordinary means, I did propose for the

sending up of all our workmen from the Woolwich and Deptford yards, none whereof yet appeared, and to write to Sir W. Coventry to have the Duke of York's permission to pull down houses, rather than lose this office, which would much hinder the King's business. So Sir W. Pen went down this night, in order to the sending them up to-morrow morning; and I wrote to Sir W. Coventry about the business, but received no answer. This night, Mrs Turner, who, poor woman, was removing her goods all this day, good goods, into the garden, and knows not how to dispose of them, and her husband supped with my wife and me at night, in the office, upon a shoulder of mutton from the cook's without any napkin, or any thing, in a sad manner, but were merry. Only now and then, walking into the garden, saw how horribly the sky looks, all on a fire in the night, was enough to put us out of our wits; and, indeed, it was extremely dreadful, for it looks just as if it was at us, and the whole heaven on fire. I after supper walked in the dark down to Tower Street, and there saw it all on fire, at the Trinity House on that side, and the Dolphin Tavern on this side, which was very near us; and the fire with extraordinary vehemence. Now begins the practice of blowing up of houses in Tower Street, those next the Tower, which at first did frighten people more than any thing; but it stopped the fire where it was done, it bringing down the houses to the ground in the same places they stood, and then it was easy to quench what little fire was in it, though it kindled nothing almost. W. Hewer this day went to see how his mother did, and comes late home, telling us how he hath been forced to remove her to Islington, her house in Pye Corner being burned; so that the fire is got so far that way, and to the Old Bayly, and was running down to Fleet Street; and Paul's is burned, and all Cheapside. I wrote to my father this night, but the post-house being burned, the letter could not go.

5th. I lay down in the office again upon W. Hewer's quilt, being mighty weary, and sore in my feet with going till I was hardly able to stand. About two in the morning my wife calls me up, and tells me of new cries of fire, it being come to Barking Church, which is the bottom of our lane. I up; and finding it so, resolved presently to take her away, and did, and took my gold, which was about £2350, W. Hewer and Jane down by Proundy's boat to Woolwich; but, Lord! what a sad sight it was by moone-light, to see the whole City almost on fire, that you might see it as plain

at Woolwich, as if you were by it. There, when I come, I find the gates shut, but no guard kept at all; which troubled me, because of discourses now begun, that there is a plot in it, and that the French had done it. I got the gates open, and to Mr Shelden's, where I locked up my gold, and charged my wife and W. Hewer never to leave the room without one of them in it, night or day. So back again, by the way seeing my goods well in the lighters at Deptford, and watched well by people. Home, and whereas I expected to have seen our house on fire, it being now about seven o'clock, it was not. But to the fire, and there find greater hopes than I expected; for my confidence of finding our office on fire was such, that I durst not ask any body how it was with us, till I come and saw it was not burned. But, going to the fire, I find, by the blowing up of houses, and the great help given by the workmen out of the King's yards, sent up by Sir W. Pen, there is a good stop given to it, as well at Marke Lane End as ours; it having only burned the dyall of Barking Church, and part of the porch, and was there quenched. I up to the top of Barking steeple, and there saw the saddest sight of desolation that I ever saw; every where great fires, oyle-cellars, and brimstone, and other things burning. I became afraid to stay there long, and therefore down again as fast as I could, the fire being spread as far as I could see it; and to Sir W. Pen's, and there eat a piece of cold meat, having eaten nothing since Sunday, but the remains of Sunday's dinner. Here I met with Mr Young and Whistler; and, having removed all my things, and received good hopes that the fire at our end is stopped, they and I walked into the town, and find Fenchurch Street, Gracious Street, and Lumbard Street all in dust. The Exchange a sad sight, nothing standing there, of all the statues or pillars, but Sir Thomas Gresham's picture in the corner. Into Moore-fields, our feet ready to burn, walking through the town among the hot coles, and find that full of people, and poor wretches carrying their goods there, and every body keeping his goods together by themselves; and a great blessing it is to them that it is fair weather for them to keep abroad night and day; drunk there, and paid twopence for a plain penny loaf. Thence homeward, having passed through Cheapside, and Newgate market, all burned; and seen Anthony Joyce's house in fire; and took up, which I keep by me, a piece of glass of the Mercers' chapel in the street, where much more was, so melted and buckled with the heat

of the fire like parchment. I also did see a poor cat taken out of a hole in a chimney, joyning to the wall of the Exchange, with the hair all burnt off the body, and yet alive. So home at night, and find there good hopes of saving our office; but great endeavours of watching all night, and having men ready; and so we lodged them in the office, and had drink and bread and cheese for them. And I lay down and slept a good night about midnight: though, when I rose, I heard that there had been a great alarme of French and Dutch being risen, which proved nothing. But it is a strange thing to see how long this time did look since Sunday, having been always full of variety of actions, and little sleep, that it looked like a week or more, and I had forgot almost the day of the week.

6th. Up about five o'clock, and met Mr Gauden at the gate of the office, I intending to go out, as I used, every now and then, to-day, to see how the fire is, to call our men to Bishop's-gate, where no fire had yet been near, and there is now one broke out: which did give great grounds to people, and to me too, to think that there is some kind of plot in this, on which many by this time have been taken, and it hath been dangerous for any stranger to walk in the streets, but I went with the men, and we did put it out in a little time; so that that was well again. It was pretty to see how hard the women did work in the cannells, sweeping of water; but then they would scold for drink, and be as drunk as devils. I saw good butts of sugar broke open in the street, and people give and take handfuls out, and put into beer, and drink it. And now all being pretty well, I took boat, and over to Southwarke, and took boat on the other side the bridge, and so to Westminster, thinking to shift myself, being all in dirt from top to bottom; but could not there find any place to buy a shirt or a pair of gloves, Westminster Hall being full of people's goods, those in Westminster having removed all their goods, and the Exchequer money put into vessels to carry to Nonsuch; but to the Swan, and there was trimmed: and then to White Hall, but saw nobody; and so home. A sad sight to see how the river looks: no houses nor church near it, to the Temple, where it stopped. At home, did go with Sir W. Batten, and our neighbour, Knightly, who, with one more, was the only man of any fashion left in all the neighbourhood thereabouts, they all removing their goods, and leaving their houses to the mercy of the fire; to Sir R. Ford's, and there

dined in an earthen platter—a fried breast of mutton; a great many of us, but very merry, and indeed as good a meal, though as ugly a one, as ever I had in my life. Thence down to Deptford, and there with great satisfaction landed all my goods at Sir G. Carteret's safe, and nothing missed I could see or hear. This being done to my great content, I home, and to Sir W. Batten's, and there, with Sir R. Ford, Mr Knightly, and one Withers, a professed lying rogue, supped well, and mighty merry, and our fears over. From them to the office, and there slept with the office full of labourers, who talked, and slept, and walked all night long there. But strange it is to see Clothworkers' Hall on fire these three days and nights in one body of flame, it being the cellar full of oyle.

7th. Up by five o'clock; and, blessed be God! find all well; and by water to Pane's Wharfe. Walked thence, and saw all the townes burned, and a miserable sight of Paul's church, with all the roofs fallen, and the body of the quire fallen into St Fayth's; Paul's school also, Ludgate, and Fleet Street. My father's house, and the church, and a good part of the Temple the like. So to Creed's lodging, near the New Exchange, and there find him laid down upon a bed; the house all unfurnished, there being fears of the fire's coming to them. There borrowed a shirt of him, and washed. To Sir W. Coventry at St James's, who lay without curtains, having removed all his goods; as the King at White Hall, and every body had done, and was doing. He hopes we shall have no public distractions upon this fire, which is what every body fears, because of the talk of the French having a hand in it. And it is a proper time for discontents; but all men's minds are full of care to protect themselves and save their goods: the Militia is in arms every where. Our fleetes, he tells me, have been in sight one of another, and most unhappily by fowle weather were parted, to our great loss, as in reason they do conclude; the Dutch being come out only to make a shew, and please their people; but in very bad condition as to stores, victuals, and men. They are at Boulogne, and our fleete come to St Ellen's. We have got nothing, but have lost one ship, but he knows not what. Thence to the Swan, and there drank; and so home, and find all well. My Lord Brouncker, at Sir W. Batten's, tells us the Generall is sent for up, to come to advise with the King about business at this juncture, and to keep all quiet; which is great honour to him, but I am sure is but a

piece of dissimulation. So home, and did give orders for my house to be made clean ; and then down to Woolwich, and there find all well. Dined, and Mrs Markham come to see my wife. This day our Merchants first met at Gresham College, which, by proclamation, is to be their Exchange. Strange to hear what is bid for houses all up and down here ; a friend of Sir W. Rider's having £150 for what he used to let for £40 per annum. Much dispute where the Custome House shall be ; thereby the growth of the City again to be foreseen. My Lord Treasurer, they say, and others, would have it at the other end of the town. I home late to Sir W. Pen's, who did give me a bed, but without curtains or hangings, all being down. So here I went the first time into a naked bed, only my drawers on ; and did sleep pretty well : but still both sleeping and waking had a fear of fire in my heart, that I took little rest. People do all the world over cry out of the simplicity of my Lord Mayor in generall ; and more particularly in this business of the fire, laying it all upon him. A proclamation is come out for markets to be kept at Leadenhall and Mile-end Greene, and several other places about the town ; and Tower Hill, and all churches to be set open to receive poor people.

16th. (Lord's day.) At noon with my wife, against her will, all undressed and dirty, dined at Sir W. Pen's, where was all the company of our families in town : but, Lord ! so sorry a dinner—venison baked in pans, that the dinner I have had for his lady alone hath been worth four of it.

17th. Up betimes, and shaved myself after a week's growth : but, Lord ! how ugly I was yesterday, and how fine to-day ! By water, seeing the City all the way—a sad sight indeed, much fire being still in.

19th. To Deptford, and got all my pictures put into wherries, and my other fine things, and landed them all very well, and brought them home, and got Symson to set them all up to-night. I and the boy to finish and set up my books and everything else in my house till two in the morning, and then to bed ; but mightily troubled, even in my sleep, by missing four or five of my biggest books, Speed's *Chronicle* and *Maps*, and the two parts of Waggoner, and a book of cards. Two little pictures of sea and ships, and a little gilt frame belonging to my plate of the River, I want ; but my books do heartily trouble me. Most of my gilt frames are hurt. This day I put on two shirts, the first

time this year, and do grow well upon it; so that my disease is nothing but wind.

21st. W. Hewer tells me that Sir W. Pen hath a hamper more than his own, which he took for a hamper of bottles of wine, but they were carried into a wine-cellar. I sent for Harry, and he brought me, by and by, my hamper, to my great joy, with the same books I missed, and three more great ones, and I did give him 5s. for his pains. The Parliament meet to-day, and the King to be with them. At the office, about our accounts, which now draw near the time they should be ready, the House having ordered Sir G. Carteret, upon his ordering them, to bring them in on Saturday next. Home, and there, with great pleasure, very late new setting all my books; and now I am in as good condition as I desire to be in all worldly respects. The Lord of Heaven make me thankful, and continue me therein!

22d. My house is so clean as I never saw it, or any other house, in my life, and every thing in as good condition as ever before the fire; but with about £20 cost, one way or other, besides about £20 charge, in removing my goods, and do not find that I have lost anything but two little pictures of ships and sea, and a little gold frame for one of my sea-cards. My glazier, indeed, is so full of work, that I cannot get him to come to perfect my house. In the afternoon I paid for the two lighters that carried my goods to Deptford, and they cost me £8.

27th. A very furious blowing night all the night; and my mind still mightily perplexed with dreams, and burning the rest of the town; and waking in much pain for the fleete. I to look out Penny, my tailor, to speak for a cloak and cassock for my brother, who is coming to town: and I will have him in a canonical dress, that he may be the fitter to go abroad with me. To Sir W. Coventry's, and there dined with him and Sir W. Batten, the Lieutenant of the Tower, and Mr Thin, a pretty gentleman, going to Gottenburgh. No news of the fleete yet, but that they went by Dover on the 25th towards the Gunfleete: but whether the Dutch be yet abroad or no, we hear not. De Ruyter is not dead, but like to do well. Most think that the gross of the French fleete are gone home again.

28th. Comes the bookbinder to gild the backs of my books. Sir W. Pen broke to me a proposition of his and my joining in a design of fetching timber and deals from Scotland, by the help

of Mr Pett upon the place : which, while London is building, will yield good money. I approve it.

29th. Sir W. Coventry and I find, to our great joy, that the wages, victuals, wear and tear, cast by the medium of the men, will come to above £3,000,000; and that the extraordinaries, which all the world will allow us, will arise to more than will justify the expence we have declared to have been at since the war; viz. £320,000.

[October] 11th. *Memorandum*. I had taken my Journall during the fire, and the disorders following, in loose papers, until this very day, and could not get time to enter them in my book till January 18, in the morning, having made my eyes sore by frequent attempts this winter to do it. But now it is done : for which I thank God ! and pray never the like occasion may happen.

13th. My accounts cost me till four o'clock in the morning, and, which was pretty to think, I was above an hour, after I had made all right, in casting up of about twenty sums, being dozed with much work, and had for forty times together forgot to carry the 60 which I had in my mind, in one denomination which exceeded 60 : and this did confound me for above an hour together.

[November] 28th. To White Hall ; where, though it blows hard and rains hard, yet the Duke of York is gone a-hunting. We therefore lost our labour, and so to get things ready against dinner at home ; and at noon comes my Lord Hinchinbroke, Sir Thomas Crewe, Mr John Crewe, Mr Carteret, and Brisband. I had six noble dishes for them, dressed by a man-cook, and commended, as indeed they deserved, for exceeding well done. We eat with great pleasure, and I enjoyed myself in it ; eating in silver plates, and all things mighty rich and handsome about me. Till dark at dinner, and then broke up with great pleasure, especially to myself ; and they away, only Mr Carteret and I to Gresham College, where they meet now weekly again, and here they had good discourse how this late experiment of the dog, which is in perfect good health, may be improved for good uses to men. Here was Mr Henry Howard, that will hereafter be Duke of Norfolk, who is admitted this day into the Society, and being a very proud man, and one that values himself upon his family, writes his name, as he do every where, Henry Howard of Norfolk.

29th. To show how mad we are at home, here, and unfit for

any troubles : my Lord St John did, a day or two since, openly pull a gentleman in Westminster Hall by the nose, one Sir Andrew Henly, while the Judges were upon their benches, and the other gentleman did give him a rap over the pate with his cane, of which fray the Judges, they say, will make a great matter : men are only sorry the gentleman did proceed to return a blow ; for, otherwise, my Lord would have been soundly fined for the affront, and may be yet for his affront to the Judges.

[December] 7th. To the King's playhouse, where two acts were almost done when I come in ; and there I sat with my cloak about my face, and saw the remainder of *The Mayd's Tragedy* ; a good play, and well acted, especially by the younger Marshall, who is become a pretty good actor, and is the first play I have seen in either of the houses, since before the great plague, they having acted now about fourteen days publickly. But I was in mighty pain, lest I should be seen by any body to be at a play.

17th. Comes Mr Cæsar, and then Goodgroome, and, what with one and the other, nothing but musique with me this morning, to my content ; and the more, to see that God Almighty hath put me into condition to bear the charge of all this. So out to the 'Change, and did a little business, and then home, where they two musicians and Mr Cooke come to see me, and Mercer to go along with my wife this afternoon to a play. My wife well home in the evening from the play ; which I was glad of, it being cold and dark, and she having her necklace of pearl on, and none but Mercer with her. Spent the evening in fitting my books, to have the number set upon each, in order to my having an alphabet of my whole, which will be of great ease to me.

25th. (Christmas day.) Lay pretty long in bed, and then rose, leaving my wife desirous to sleep, having sat up till four this morning, seeing her maids make mince-pies. I to church, where our parson Mills made a good sermon. Then home, and dined well on some good ribbs of beef roasted, and mince pies ; only my wife, brother, and Barker, and plenty of good wine of my own, and my heart full of true joy ; and thanks to God Almighty for the goodness of my condition at this day. After dinner, I begun to teach my wife and Barker my song, "It is decreed," which pleases me mightily. Walked alone on foot to the Temple, thinking to have seen a play all alone ; but there, missing of any bills, concluded there was none, and so back home ; and there with my

brother reducing the names of all my books to an alphabet, and then to supper and to bed.

26th. To the Duke's house, to a play. It was indifferently done, Gosnell not singing, but a new wench, that sings naughtily. Thence home, and there Mr Andrews to the vvall, who plays most excellently on it. Thence to dance, here being Penbleton come, by my wife's direction, and a fiddler; and we got, also, the elder Batelier to-night, and Nan Wright, and mighty merry we were, and danced; and so till twelve at night, and to supper, and then to cross purposes, mighty merry, and then to bed.

28th. To the Duke's House, and there saw *Macbeth* most excellently acted, and a most excellent play for variety. I had sent for my wife to meet me there, who did come: so I did go to White Hall, and got my Lord Bellassis to get me into the playhouse; and there, after all staying above an hour for the players, the King and all waiting, which was absurd, saw *Henry the Fifth* well done by the Duke's people, and in most excellent habits, all new vests, being put on but this night. But I sat so high and far off, that I missed most of the words, and sat with a wind coming into my back and neck, which did much trouble me. The play continued till twelve at night; and then up, and a most horrid cold night it was, and frosty, and moonshine.

30th. (Lord's day.) To church. Here was a collection for the sexton; but it come into my head why we should be more bold in making the collection while the psalm is singing, than in the sermon or prayer.

31st. To my accounts, wherein, at last, I find them clear and right; but, to my great discontent, do find that my gettings this year have been £573 less than my last: it being this year in all but £2986; whereas, the last, I got £3560. And then again my spendings this year have exceeded my spendings the last by £644: my whole spendings last year being but £509; whereas this year, it appears, I have spent £1154, which is a sum not fit to be said that ever I should spend in one year, before I am master of a better estate than I am. Yet, blessed be God! and I pray God make me thankful for it, I do find myself worth in money, all good, above £6200; which is above £1800 more than I was the last year. Thus ends this year of publick wonder and mischief to this nation, and, therefore, generally wished by all people to have an end. Myself and family well, having four maids and one clerk,

Tom, in my house, and my brother, now with me, to spend time in order to his preferment. Our health all well, publick matters in a most sad condition ; seamen discouraged for want of pay, and are become not to be governed : nor, as matters are now, can any fleete go out next year. Our enemies, French and Dutch, great, and grow more by our poverty. The Parliament backward in raising, because jealous of the spending of the money ; the City less and less likely to be built again, every body settling elsewhere, and nobody encouraged to trade. A sad, vicious, negligent Court, and all sober men there fearful of the ruin of the whole kingdom this next year ; from which, good God deliver us ! One thing I reckon remarkable in my own condition is, that I am come to abound in good plate, so as at all entertainments to be served wholly with silver plates, having two dozen and a half.

1666-67

January 1st. Lay long, being a bitter, cold, frosty day. the frost being now grown old, and the Thames covered with ice.

4th. Comes our company to dinner ; my Lord Brouncker, Sir W. Pen, his lady, and Pegg, and her servant, Mr Lowther. I had good room for ten, and no more would my table have held well, had Sir J. Minnes, who had fallen lame, and his sister, and niece, and Sir W. Batten come, which was a great content to me to be without them. I did make them all gaze to see themselves served so nobly in plate, and a neat dinner, indeed, though but of seven dishes. My Lady Batten home, her ague-fit coming on her at table. At night to sup, and then to cards ; and, last of all, to have a flaggon of ale and apples, drunk out of a wood cup, as a Christmas draught, which made all merry ; and they full of admiration at my plate. Mr Lowther a pretty gentleman, too good for Peg. Sir W. Pen was much troubled to hear the song I sung, "The New Droll"—it touching him home.

6th. (Lord's day.) To church, where a dull doctor, a stranger, made a dull sermon. Young Michell and I, it being an excellent frosty day, did walk out. He showed me the baker's house in Pudding Lane, where the late great fire begun : and thence all along Thames Street, where I did view several places, and so up by London Wall, by Blackfriars, to Ludgate ; and thence to Bride-well, which I find to have been heretofore an extraordinary good

house, and a fine coming to it, before the house by the bridge was built; and so to look about St Bride's church and my father's house, and so walked home.

8th. Saw the catalogue of my books, which my brother hath wrote out, now perfectly alphabeticall.

11th. Sir W. Warren told me, how my Lord Brouncker should take notice of the two flaggons he saw at my house at dinner, at my late feast, and merrily, yet I know enviously, said, I could not come honestly by them. This I am glad to hear, though vexed to see his ignoble soul, but I shall beware of him, and yet it is fit he should see I am no mean fellow, but can live in the world, and have something.

30th. Fast-day for the King's death. At night, it being a little moonshine and fair weather, into the garden, and with Mercer sang till my wife put me in mind of its being a fast-day; and so I was sorry for it, and stopped, and home to cards.

[February] 2d. This night comes home my new silver snuffe-dish, which I do give myself for my closet. I am very well pleased this night with reading a poem I brought home with me last night from Westminster Hall, of Dryden's, upon the present war; a very good poem.

4th. D. Gauden did give me a good cordiall this morning, by telling me that he do give me five of the eight hundred pounds on his account remaining in my hands to myself, for the service I do him in my victualling business, and £100 for my particular share of the profits of my Tangier employment as Treasurer. When Sir W. Coventry did come, and the rest met, I did appear unconcerned, and did give him answer pretty satisfactory what he asked me; so that I did get off this meeting without any ground lost. Home, and to my chamber, and there finished my Catalogue of my books with my own hand.

7th. Talking with my brother upon matters relating to his journey to Brampton to-morrow, I looking another way, heard him fall down, and turned my head, and he was fallen down all along upon the ground dead, which did put me into a great fright; and, to see my brotherly love! I did presently lift him up from the ground, he being as pale as death; and, being upon his legs, he did presently come to himself, and said he had something come into his stomach very hot. He knew not what it was, nor ever had such a fit before. To the office, late doing business, and then

home, and find my brother pretty well. I did this night give him 20s. for books, and as much for his pocket, and 15s. to carry him down. Poor fellow! he is so melancholy, and withal, my wife says, harmless, that I begin to love him, and would be loth he should not do well.

9th. Read a piece of a play, *Every Man in his Humour*, wherein is the greatest propriety of speech that ever I read in my life: and so to bed. This noon come my wife's watchmaker, and received £12 of me for her watch; but Captain Rolt coming to speak with me about a little business, he did judge of the work to be very good, and so I am well contented.

14th. This morning come up to my wife's bedside, I being up dressing myself, little Will Mercer to be her Valentine; and brought her name writ upon blue paper in gold letters, done by himself, very pretty; and we were both well pleased with it. But I am also this year my wife's Valentine, and it will cost me £5; but that I must have laid out if we had not been Valentines.

15th. Pegg Pen is married this day privately: no friends, but two or three relations of his and her's. Borrowed many things of my kitchen for dressing their dinner. This wedding, being private, is imputed to its being just before Lent, and so in vain to make new clothes till Easter, that they might see the fashions as they are like to be this summer; which is reason good enough. Mrs Turner tells me she hears Sir W. Pen gives £4500 or £4000 with her.

16th. I find that Mrs Pierce's little girl is my Valentine, she having drawn me: which I was not sorry for, it easing me of something more that I must have given to others. But here I do first observe the fashion of drawing of mottos as well as names; so that Pierce, who drew my wife, did draw also a motto, and this girl drew another for me. What mine was I have forgot; but my wife's was, "Most courteous and most fair"; which, as it may be used, or an anagram made upon each name, might be very pretty. One wonder I observed to-day, that there was no musique in the morning to call up our new-married people; which is very mean, methinks.

18th. To the King's house, to *The Mayd's Tragedy*; but vexed all the while with two talking ladies and Sir Charles Sedley; yet pleased to hear their discourse, he being a stranger. And one of the ladies would, and did sit with her mask on, all the play, and, being exceeding witty as ever I heard woman, did talk most

pleasantly with him ; but was, I believe, a virtuous woman, and of quality. He would fain know who she was, but she would not tell ; yet did give him many pleasant hints of her knowledge of him, by that means setting his brains at work to find out who she was, and did give him leave to use all means to find out who she was, but pulling off her mask. He was mighty witty, and she also making sport with him very inoffensively, that a more pleasant rencontre I never heard. But by that means lost the pleasure of the play wholly, to which now and then Sir Charles Sedley's exceptions against both words and pronouncing were very pretty.

19th. At noon home, and there find old Mr Michell and Howlett come to desire mine and my wife's company to dinner to their son's, and so away by coach with them, it being Betty's wedding-day a year, as also Shrove Tuesday. Here I made myself mighty merry, and a mighty pretty dinner we had in this little house, to my exceeding great content, and my wife's, and my heart pleased to see Betty. After dinner, I fell to read the Acts about the building of the city again ; and indeed the laws seem to be very good, and I pray God I may live to see it built in that manner ! This morning, I hear that our discourse of peace is all in the dirt ; for the Dutch will not like of the peace, or at least the French will not agree to it ; so that I do wonder what we shall do, for carry on the war we cannot.

21st. To the Office, where sat all the morning, and there a most furious conflict between Sir W. Pen and I, in few words, and on a sudden occasion, of no great moment, but very bitter and smart on one another, and so broke off, and to our business, my heart as full of spite as it could hold, for which God forgive me and him ! At the end come witnesses on behalf of Mr Carcasse ; but, instead of clearing him, I find they were brought to recriminate Sir W. Batten, and did it by oath very highly, that made the old man mad, and, I confess, me ashamed, so that I caused all but ourselves to withdraw, being sorry to have such things declared in the open office, before 100 people. But it was done home, and I believe true, though W. Batten denies all, but is cruel mad, and swore one of them, he or Carcasse, should not continue in the Office, which is said like a fool.

22d. All of us, that is to say, Lord Brouncker, J. Minnes, W. Batten, T. Harvy, and myself, to Sir W. Pen's house, where some other company. It is instead of a wedding-dinner for his daughter

whom I saw in palterly clothes, nothing new but a bracelet that her servant had given her, and ugly she is, as heart can wish. A sorry dinner, not anything handsome or clean, but some silver plates they borrowed of me. My wife was here too. We had favours given us all, and we put them in our hats, I against my will, but that my Lord and the rest did.

23d. This day I am, by the blessing of God, 34 years old, in very good health and mind's content, and in condition of estate much beyond whatever my friends could expect of a child of their's, this day 34 years. The Lord's name be praised ! and may I be thankful for it.

24th. I enquired about the Frenchman that was said to fire the City, and was hanged for it, by his own confession, that he was hired for it by a Frenchman of Roane, and that he did with a stick reach in a fire-ball in at a window of the house : whereas the master of the house, who is the King's baker, and his son, and daughter, do all swear there was no such window, and that the fire did not begin thereabouts. Yet the fellow, who, though a mopish besotted fellow, did not speak like a madman, did swear that he did fire it : and did not this like a madman ; for, being tried on purpose, and landed with his keeper at the Town Wharf, he could carry the keeper to the very house. Asking Sir R. Viner what he thought was the cause of the fire, he tells me, that the baker, son, and his daughter, did all swear again and again, that their oven was drawn by ten o'clock at night : that, having occasion to light a candle about twelve, there was not so much fire in the bakehouse as to light a match for a candle, so that they were fain to go into another place to light it : that about two in the morning they felt themselves almost choked with smoke, and rising, did find the fire coming up stairs ; so they rose to save themselves ; but that, at that time, the bavins were not on fire in the yard. So that they are, as they swear, in absolute ignorance how this fire should come ; which is a strange thing, that so horrid an effect should have so mean and uncertain a beginning. By and by called into the King and Cabinet, and there had a few insipid words about money for Tangier, but to no purpose. Going through bridge by water, my waterman told me how the mistress of the Beare tavern, at the bridge-foot, did lately fling herself into the Thames, and drowned herself ; which did trouble me the more, when they tell me it was she that did live at the White Horse

tavern in Lumbard Street, which was a most beautiful woman, as most I have seen. It seems she hath had long melancholy upon her, and hath endeavoured to make away with herself often.

25th. Lay long in bed, talking with pleasure with my poor wife, how she used to make coal fires, and wash my foul clothes with her own hand for me, poor wretch! in our little room at my Lord Sandwich's; for which I ought for ever to love and admire her, and do; and persuade myself she would do the same thing again, if God should reduce us to it.

27th. Up by candle-light, about six o'clock, and by water down to Woolwich, I being at leisure this day, the King and Duke of York being gone down to Sheerenesse to lay out the design for a fortification there to the river Medway; and so we do not attend the Duke of York as we should otherwise have done. To the Dock Yard, and went into Mr Pett's; and there, beyond expectation, he did present me with a Japan cane, with a silver head, and his wife sent me by him a ring, with a Woolwich stone, now much in request; which I accepted, the values not being great: and then, at my asking, did give me an old draught of an ancient-built ship, given him by his father, of the *Beare*, in Queen Elizabeth's time. Mr Hunt, newly come out of the country, tells me the country is much impoverished by the greatness of taxes: the farmers do break every day almost, and £1000 a year become not worth £500. He told me some ridiculous pieces of thrift of Sir G. Downing's, who is his countryman, in inviting some poor people, at Christmas last, to charm the country people's mouths; but did give them nothing but beef, porridge, pudding, and pork, and nothing said all dinner, but only his mother would say, "It's good broth, son." He would answer, "Yes, it is good broth." Then, says his lady, "Confirm all, and say, Yes, very good broth." By and by she would begin and say, "Good pork": "Yes," says the mother, "good pork." Then he cries, "Yes, very good pork." And so they said of all things; to which nobody made any answer, they going there not out of love or esteem of them, but to eat his victuals, knowing him to be a niggardly fellow; and with this he is jeered now all over the country.

March 1st. In Mark Lane I do observe, it being St David's day, the picture of a man dressed like a Welchman, hanging by the neck upon one of the poles that stand out at the top of one of the merchants' houses, in full proportion, and very handsomely

done; which is one of the oddest sights I have seen a good while. Being returned home, I find Greeting, the flageolet-master, come, and teaching my wife; and I do think my wife will take pleasure in it, and it will be easy for her, and pleasant. So to the office, and then before dinner making my wife to sing. Poor wretch! her ear is so bad that it made me angry, till the poor wretch cried to see me so vexed at her, that I think I shall not discourage her so much again, but will endeavour to make her understand sounds, and do her good that way; for she hath a great mind to learn, only to please me.

7th. This day was reckoned by all people the coldest day that ever was remembered in England; and, God knows! coals at a very great price.

12th. Up and to the Office, where all the morning. At noon home, and there find Mr Goodgroome, whose teaching of my wife only by singing over and over again to her, and letting her sing with him, not by herself, to correct her faults, I do not like at all, but was angry at it; but have this content, that I do think she will come to sing pretty well, and to trill in time, which pleases me well. This day a poor seaman, almost starved for want of food, lay in our yard a-dying. I sent him half-a-crown, and we ordered his ticket to be paid.

16th. The weather is now grown warm again, after much cold; and it is observable that within these eight days I did see smoke remaining, coming out of some cellars from the late great fire, now above six months since.

22d. My wife having dressed herself in a silly dress of a blue petticoat uppermost, and a white satin waistcoat and white hood, though I think she did it because her gown is gone to the tailor's, did, together with my being hungry, which always makes me peevish, make me angry.

23d. At the office, where Sir W. Pen come, being returned from Chatham, from considering the means of fortifying the river Medway, by a chain at the stakes, and ships laid there with guns to keep the enemy from coming up to burn our ships; all our care now being to fortify ourselves against their invading us. Vexed with our maid Luce, our cookmaid, who is a good drudging servant in everything else, and pleases us, but that she will be drunk, and hath been so last night and all this day, that she could not make clean the house. My fear is only fire.

27th. Received from my brother the news of my mother's dying on Monday, about five or six o'clock in the afternoon, and that the last time she spoke of her children was on Friday last, and her last words were, "God bless my poor Sam!" The reading hereof did set me a-weeping heartily. Found it necessary to go abroad with my wife to look after the providing mourning to send into the country—some to-morrow, and more against Sunday, for my family, being resolved to put myself and wife, and Barker and Jane, W. Hewer and Tom, in mourning, and my two under-maids, to give them hoods and scarfs and gloves. So to my tailor's, and up and down, and then home, and to bed, my heart sad, though my judgment at ease.

28th. I down by water to our prize, part of whose goods were condemned yesterday—*The Lindeboome*—and there we did drink some of her wine, very good. But it did grate my heart to see the poor master come on board, and look about into every corner, and find fault that she was not so clean as she used to be, though methought she was very clean; and to see his new masters come in, that had nothing to do with her, did trouble me to see him.

29th. The great streets in the City are marked out with piles drove into the ground; and if ever it be built in that form with so fair streets, it will be a noble sight.

[April] 4th. My wife had been to-day at White Hall to the Maundy, it being Maundy Thursday; but the King did not wash the poor people's feet himself, but the Bishop of London did it for him.

12th. Coming home, saw my door and hatch open, left so by Luce, our cookmaid, which so vexed me, that I did give her a kick in our entry, and offered a blow at her, and was seen doing so by Sir W. Pen's footboy, which did vex me to the heart, because I know he will be telling their family of it.

19th. To the play-house, where saw *Macbeth*, which, though I have seen it often, yet is it one of the best plays for a stage, and variety of dancing and musick, that ever I saw.

21st. (Lord's day.) I have a mind to buy enough ground to build a coach-house and stable; for I have had it much in my thoughts lately that it is not too much for me now, in degree or cost, to keep a coach, but contrarily, that I am almost ashamed to be seen in a hackney. To Hackney church, where very full, and found much difficulty to get pews, I offering the sexton money,

and he could not help me. So my wife and Mercer ventured into a pew, and I into another. A knight and his lady very civil to me when they came, being Sir George Viner, and his lady—rich in jewells, but most in beauty—almost the finest woman that ever I saw. That which I went chiefly to see was the young ladies of the schools, whereof there is great store, very pretty; and also the organ, which is handsome, and tunes the psalms, and plays with the people; which is mighty pretty, and makes me mighty earnest to have a pair at our church, I having almost a mind to give them a pair, if they would settle a maintenance on them for it.

27th. This afternoon I got in some coals at 23s. per chaldron, a good hearing, I thank God—having not been put to buy a coal all this dear time, that during this war poor people have been forced to give 45s. and 50s., and £3. My wife and people busy these late days, and will be for some time, making of shirts and smocks. With Mr Moore, discoursing of my Lord Sandwich's family, which he tells me is in a very bad condition, for want of money and management, my Lord's charging them with bills, and nobody, nor any thing provided to answer them.

May 1st. To Westminster; in the way meeting many milkmaids with their garlands upon their pails, dancing with a fiddler before them; and saw pretty Nelly standing at her lodgings' door in Drury-lane in her smock sleeves and bodice, looking upon one: she seemed a mighty pretty creature.

11th. My wife being dressed this day in fair hair did make me so mad, that I spoke not one word to her, though I was ready to burst with anger. After that, Creed and I into the Park, and walked, a most pleasant evening, and so took coach, and took up my wife, and in my way home discovered my trouble to my wife for her white locks, swearing several times, which I pray God forgive me for, and bending my fist, that I would not endure it. She, poor wretch, was surprized with it, and made me no answer all the way home; but there we parted, and I to the office late, and then home, and without supper to bed, vexed.

12th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to my chamber, to settle some accounts there, and by and by down comes my wife to me in her nightgown, and we begun calmly, that, upon having money to lace her gown for second mourning, she would promise to wear white locks no more in my sight, which I, like a severe fool, thinking not enough, begun to except against, and made her fly out to very high

terms and cry, and in her heat, told me of keeping company with Mrs Knipp, saying, that if I would promise never to see her more she would never wear white locks more. This vexed me, but I restrained myself from saying any thing, but do think never to see this woman—at least, to have her here more; and so all very good friends as ever.

14th. To my Lord Chancellor's, where I met Mr Povy, expecting the coming of the rest of the Commissioners for Tangier. Here I understand how the two Dukes, both the only sons of the Duke of York, are sick even to danger, and that on Sunday last they were both so ill, as that the poor Duchess was in doubt which would die first: the Duke of Cambridge of some general disease; the other little Duke, whose title I know not, of the convulsion fits, of which he had four this morning. Fear that either of them might be dead, did make us think that it was the occasion that the Duke of York and others were not come to the meeting of the Commission which was designed, and my Lord Chancellor did expect. And it was pretty to observe how, when my Lord sent down to St James's to see why the Duke of York come not, and Mr Povy, who went, returned, my Lord (Chancellor) did ask, not how the Princes or the Dukes do, as other people do, but, "How do the children?" which methought was mighty great, and like a great man and grandfather. I find every body mightily concerned for these children, as a matter wherein the State is much concerned that they should live.

27th. Abroad, and stopped at Bear-garden stairs, there to see a prize fought. But the house so full there was no getting in there, so forced to go through an ale-house into the pit, where the bears are baited; and upon a stool did see them fight, which they did very furiously, a butcher and a waterman. The former had the better all along, till by and by the latter dropped his sword out of his hand, and the butcher, whether not seeing his sword dropped I know not, but did give him a cut over the wrist, so as he was disabled to fight any longer. But, Lord! to see how in a minute the whole stage was full of watermen to revenge the foul play, and the butchers to defend their fellow, though most blamed him; and there they all fell to it to knocking down and cutting many on each side. It was pleasant to see, but that I stood in the pit, and feared that in the tumult I might get some hurt. At last the battle broke up, and so I away.

28th. I by water to Fox-hall, and there walked in Spring Garden. A great deal of company, and the weather and garden pleasant: and it is very pleasant and cheap going thither, for a man may go to spend what he will, or nothing, all is one. But to hear the nightingale and other birds, and hear fiddles, and there a harp, and here a Jew's trump, and here laughing, and there fine people walking, is mighty divertising.

[June] 5th. To the Commissioners of the Treasury, and, after long waiting, I find them all sat; and, among the rest, Duncomb lolling, with his heels upon another chair, by that, that he sat upon. Captain Perriman brings us word how the *Happy Return's* crew below in the Hope, ordered to carry the Portugal Ambassador to Holland, and the Ambassador, I think, on board, refuse to go till paid; and by their example two or three more ships are in a mutiny: which is a sad consideration, while so many of the enemy's ships are at this day triumphing in the sea. Sir G. Carteret showed me a gentleman coming by in his coach, who hath been sent for up out of Lincolneshire, I think he says he is a justice of peace there, that the Council have laid by the heels here, and here lies in a messenger's hands, for saying that a man and his wife are but one person, and so ought to pay but 12*d.* for both to the Poll Bill; by which others were led to do the like: and so here he lies prisoner.

8th. Up, and to the office, where all the news this morning is, that the Dutch are come with a fleete of eighty sail to Harwich, and that guns were heard plain by Sir W. Rider's people at Bednall-green, all yesterday even. Home, where our dinner a ham of French bacon, boiled with pigeons, an excellent dish. The news is confirmed that the Dutch are off Harwich, but had done nothing last night. The king hath sent down my Lord of Oxford to raise the countries there; and all the Western barges are taken up to make a bridge over the River, about the Hope, for horse to cross the River, if there be occasion.

10th. Up; and news brought us that the Dutch are come up as high as the Nore; and more pressing orders for fire-ships. W. Batten, W. Pen, and I to St James's; whence the Duke of York gone this morning betimes, to send away some men down to Chatham. So we then to White Hall, and meet Sir W. Coventry, who presses all that is possible for fire-ships. So we three to the office presently; and thither comes Sir Fretcheville Hollis, who

is to command them all in some exploits he is to do with them on the enemy in the River. So we all down to Deptford, and pitched upon ships and set men at work : but, Lord ! to see how backwardly things move at this pinch, notwithstanding that, by the enemy's being now come up as high as almost the Hope, Sir J. Minnes, who was gone down to pay some ships there, hath sent up the money ; and so we are possessed of money to do what we will with. Yet partly ourselves, being used to be idle and in despair, and partly people that have been used to be deceived by us as to money, won't believe us ; and we know not, though we have it, how almost to promise it ; and our wants such, and men out of the way, that it is an admirable thing to consider how much the King suffers, and how necessary it is in a State to keep the King's service always in a good posture and credit. Down to Greenwich, where I find the stairs full of people, there being a great riding there to-day for a man, the constable of the town, whose wife beat him. Down to Gravesend, where I find the Duke of Albemarle just come, with a great many idle lords and gentlemen, with their pistols and fooleries ; and the bulwark not able to have stood half an hour had they come up ; but the Dutch are fallen down from the Hope and Shell-haven as low as Sheerness, and we do plainly at this time hear the guns play. Yet I do not find the Duke of Albemarle intends to go thither, but stays here to-night, and hath, though the Dutch are gone, ordered our frigates to be brought to a line between the two blockhouses ; which I took then to be a ridiculous thing. I find the townsmen had removed most of their goods out of the town, for fear of the Dutch coming up to them ; and from Sir John Griffen, that last night there was not twelve men to be got in the town to defend it : which the master of the house tells me is not true, but that the men of the town did intend to stay, though they did indeed, and so had he, at the Ship, removed their goods. Thence went to an Ostend man-of-war, just now come up, who met the Dutch fleete, who took three ships that he came convoying hither from him : says they are as low as the Nore, or thereabouts.

13th. No sooner up but hear the sad news confirmed of the *Royall Charles* being taken by them, and now in fitting by them—which Pett should have carried up higher by our several orders, and deserves, therefore, to be hanged for not doing it—and burning several others ; and that another fleete is come up into the

Hope. Upon which news the King and Duke of York have been below since four o'clock in the morning, to command the sinking of ships at Barking-Creeke, and other places, to stop their coming up higher : which put me into such a fear, that I presently resolved of my father's and wife's going into the country ; and, at two hours' warning, they did go by the coach this day, with about £1300 in gold in their night-bag. Pray God give them good passage, and good care to hide it when they come home ! but my heart is full of fear. They gone, I continued in fright and fear what to do with the rest.

21st. My wife shows me a letter from her father, who is going over sea, and this afternoon would take his leave of her. I sent him by her three Jacobuses in gold, having real pity for him and her. This day comes news from Harwich that the Dutch fleete are all in sight, near 100 sail great and small, they think, coming towards them ; where, they think, they shall be able to oppose them ; but do cry out of the falling back of the seamen, few standing by them, and those with much faintness. The like they write from Portsmouth, and their letters this post are worth reading. Sir H. Cholmly come to me this day, and tells me the Court is as mad as ever ; and that the night the Dutch burned our ships the King did sup with my Lady Castlemaine, at the Duchess of Monmouth's, and there were all mad in hunting of a poor moth. All the Court afraid of a Parliament ; but he thinks nothing can save us but the King's giving up all to a Parliament.

26th. Such is the want already of coals, and the despair of having any supply, by reason of the enemy's being abroad, and no fleete of ours to secure them, that they are come this day to £5 10s. per chaldron.

27th. News this tide, that about 80 sail of the Dutch, great and small, were seen coming up the river this morning ; and this tide some of them to the upper end of the Hope.

29th. Talking with Sir W. Batten, he did give me an account how ill the King and Duke of York was advised to send orders for our frigates and fire-ships to come from Gravesend, soon as ever news come of the Dutch being returned into the river, wherein no seamen, he believes, was advised with ; for, says he, we might have done just as Warwicke did, when he, W. Batten, come with the King and the like fleete, in the late wars, into the river ; for Warwicke did not run away from them, but sailed before them

when they sailed, and come to anchor when they come to anchor, and always kept in a small distance from them : so as to be able to take every opportunity of any of their ships running aground, or change of wind, or any thing else, to his advantage. So might we have done with our fire-ships, and we have lost an opportunity of taking or burning a good ship of their's, which was run aground about Holehaven, I think he said, with the wind so as their ships could not get her away ; but we might have done what we would with her, and, it may be, done them mischief, too, with the wind.

[July] 5th. No news, but that the Dutch are gone clear from Harwich northward, and have given out that they are going to Yarmouth.

6th. Mr Williamson told me that Mr Coventry is coming over with a project of a peace ; which, if the States agree to, and our King, when their Ministers on both sides have showed it them, we shall agree, and that is all : but the King, I hear, do give it out plain that the peace is concluded.

8th. Mr Coventry is come from Bredah, as was expected ; but, contrary to expectation, brings with him two or three articles which do not please the King : as, to retrench the Act of Navigation, and then to ascertain what are contraband goods ; and then that those exiled persons, who are or shall take refuge in their country, may be secure from any further prosecution. Whether these will be enough to break the peace upon, or no, he cannot tell ; but I perceive the certainty of peace is blown over. To Charing Cross, there to see the great boy and girle that are lately come out of Ireland, the latter eight, the former but four years old, of most prodigious bigness for their age. I tried to weigh them in my arms, and find them twice as heavy as people almost twice their age ; and yet I am apt to believe they are very young. Their father a little sorry fellow, and their mother an old Irish woman. They have had four children of this bigness, and four of ordinary growth, whereof two of each are dead. If, as my Lord Ormond certifies, it be true that they are no older, it is very monstrous.

9th. This evening news comes for certain that the Dutch are with their fleete before Dover, and that it is expected they will attempt something there. The business of the peace is quite dashed again.

12th. Met at White Hall with Sir H. Cholmly, he telling me

that undoubtedly the peace is concluded ; for he did stand yesterday where he did hear part of the discourse at the Council table, and there did hear the King argue for it. Among other things, that the spirits of the seamen were down, and the forces of our enemies were grown too great and many for us, and he would not have his subjects overpressed ; for he knows an Englishman would do as much as any man upon hopeful terms ; but where he sees he is overpressed, he despairs as soon as any other ; and, besides that, they have already such a load of dejection upon them, that they will not be in a temper a good while again.

21st. (Lord's day.) I and my wife and Mercer up by water to Barne Elmes, where we walked by moonshine, and called at Lambeth, and drank and had cold meat in the boat, and did eat and sang, and down home, by almost twelve at night, very fine and pleasant, only could not sing ordinary songs with the freedom that otherwise I would. Here Mercer tells me that the pretty maid of the Ship tavern is married there, which I am glad of. So having spent this night, with much serious pleasure to consider that I am in condition to fling away an angell in such a refreshment to myself and family, we home and to bed, leaving Mercer, by the way, at her own door.

23d. Comes sudden news to me by letter from the Clerke of the Cheque at Gravesend, that there were thirty sail of Dutch men-of-war coming up into the Hope this last tide : which I told Sir W. Pen of ; but he would not believe it, but laughed, and said it was a fleete of Billanders [coasters], and that the guns that were heard was the salutation of the Swede's Embassador that comes over with them. But within half an hour comes another letter from Captain Proud, that eight of them were come into the Hope, and thirty more following them, at ten this morning. By and by comes an order from White Hall to send down one of our number to Chatham, fearing that, as they did before, they may make a show first up hither, but then go to Chatham : so my Lord Brouncker do go, and we here are ordered to give notice to the merchant men-of-war, gone below the barricado at Woolwich, to come up again.

24th. Betimes this morning comes a letter from the Clerke of the Cheque at Gravesend to me, to tell me that the Dutch fleete did come all into the Hope yesterday noon, and held a fight with our ships from thence till seven at night ; that they had burned

twelve fire-ships, and we took one of their's, and burned five of our fire-ships. But then rising and going to Sir W. Batten, he tells me that we have burned one of their men-of-war, and another of their's is blown up : but how true this is, I know not. But these fellows are mighty bold, and have had the fortune of the wind easterly this time to bring them up, and prevent our troubling them with our fire-ships ; and, indeed, have had the winds at their command from the beginning, and now do take the beginning of the spring, as if they had some great design to do. About five o'clock down to Gravesend, and as we come nearer Gravesend, we hear the Dutch fleete and our's a-firing their guns most distinctly and loud. So I landed, and discoursed with the landlord of the Ship, who undeceives me in what I heard this morning about the Dutch having lost two men-of-war, for it is not so, but several of their fire-ships. He do say, that this afternoon they did force our ships to retreat, but that now they are gone down as far as Shieldhaven : but what the event hath been of this evening's guns they know not, but suppose not much, for they have all this while shot at good distance one from another. They seem confident of the security of this town and the River above it, if ever the enemy should come up so high ; their fortifications being so good, and guns many. Having eat a bit of cold venison and drank, I away, took boat, and homeward again, with great pleasure, the moon shining, and it being a fine pleasant cool evening, and got home by half-past twelve at night, and so to bed.

26th. No news all this day what we have done to the enemy, but that the enemy is fallen down, and we after them, but to little purpose.

28th. All the morning close, to draw up a letter to Sir W. Coventry upon the tidings of peace, taking occasion, before I am forced to it, to resign up to his Royall Highness my place of the Victualling, and to recommend myself to him by promise of doing my utmost to improve this peace in the best manner we may, to save the kingdom from ruin.

29th. Many guns were heard this afternoon, it seems, at White Hall and in the Temple garden very plain ; but what it should be nobody knows, unless the Dutch be driving our ships up the river. To-morrow we shall know.

August 1st. Dined at Sir W. Pen's, only with Mrs Turner and her husband, on a venison pasty, that stunk like a devil. However,

I did not know it till dinner was done. We had nothing but only this, and a leg of mutton, and a pullet or two. Mrs Markham was here. I was very merry, and after dinner, upon a motion of the women, I was got to go to the play with them—the first I have seen since before the Dutch's coming upon our coast, and so to the King's house, to see *The Custome of the Country*. The house mighty empty—more than ever I saw it—and an ill play. After the play, we went into the house, and spoke with Knipp, who went abroad with us by coach to the Neat Houses, in the way to Chelsy; and there, in a box in a tree, we sat and sang, and talked and eat; my wife out of humour, as she always is, when this woman is by. So, after it was dark, we home. Set Knipp down at home. Home, the gates of the City shut, it being so late: and at Newgate we find them in trouble, some thieves having this night broke open prison. So we through, and home; and our coachman was fain to drive hard from two or three fellows, which he said were rogues, that he met at the end of Bluebladder Street, next Cheapside. So set Mrs Turner home, and then we home, and I to the Office a little; and so home and to bed, my wife in an ill humour still.

6th. A full Board. Here, talking of news, my Lord Anglesey did tell us that the Dutch do make a further bogle with us about two or three things, which they will be satisfied in, he says, by us easily; but only in one, it seems, they do demand that we shall not interrupt their East Indiamen coming home, and of which they are in some fear; and we are full of hopes that we have light upon some of them, and carried them into Lisbon, by Harman; which God send! But they, which do show the low esteem they have of us, have the confidence to demand that we shall have a cessation on our parts, and yet they at liberty to take what they will; which is such an affront, as another cannot be devised greater. At noon home to dinner, where I find Mrs Wood, Bab Shelden, and our Mercer, who is dressed to-day in a paysan dress, that looks mighty pretty. My wife, as she said last night, hath put away Nell to-day, for her gossiping abroad and telling of stories.

9th. To Westminster, to Mr Burges, and he and I talked, and he do really declare that he expects that of necessity this kingdom will fall back again to a commonwealth, and other wise men are of the same mind: this family doing all that silly men can do, to make themselves unable to support their kingdom, minding their

lust and their pleasure, and making their government so chargeable, that people do well remember better things were done, and better managed, and with much less charge under a commonwealth than they have been by this King. Home, and find Mr Goodgroome, my wife's singing-master. There I did soundly rattle him for neglecting her so much as he has done—she not having learned three songs these three months, and more. To St James's, and there met Sir W. Coventry; and he and I walked in the park an hour. He tells me this day it is supposed the peace is ratified at Bredah, and all that matter over. We did talk of many retrenchments of charge of the Navy which he will put in practice, and every where else.

15th. Sir W. Pen and I to the Duke's house; where a new play. The King and Court there: the house full, and an act begun. And so we went to the King's, and there saw *The Merry Wives of Windsor*; which did not please me at all, in no part of it.

16th. My wife and I to the Duke's playhouse, where we saw the play acted yesterday, *The Feign Innocence, or Sir Martin Marall*; a play made by my Lord Duke of Newcastle, but, as every body says, corrected by Dryden. It is the most entire piece of mirth, a complete farce, from one end to the other, that certainly was ever writ. I never laughed so in all my life, and at very good wit therein, not fooling. The House full, and in all things of mighty content to me. To the New Exchange, where, at my bookseller's, I saw *The History of the Royal Society*, which, I believe, is a fine book, and have bespoke one in quires. To my chamber, and read the history of 88 in Speede, in order to my seeing the play thereof acted to-morrow at the King's house. Every body wonders that we have no news from Bredah of the ratification of the peace; and do suspect that there is some stop in it.

17th. To the King's playhouse, where the house extraordinary full; and there the King and Duke of York to see the new play, *Queen Elizabeth's Troubles, and the History of Eighty Eight*. I confess I have sucked in so much of the sad story of Queen Elizabeth from my cradle, that I was ready to weep for her sometimes; but the play is the most ridiculous that sure ever came upon the stage, and, indeed, is merely a show, only shows the true garbe of the Queen in those days, just as we see Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth painted: but the play is merely a puppet play, acted

by living puppets. Neither the design nor language better; and one stands by and tells us the meaning of things: only I was pleased to see Knipp dance among the milkmaids, and to hear her sing a song to Queen Elizabeth; and to see her come out in her night-gowne with no lockes on, but her bare face and hair only tied up in a knot behind; which is the comeliest dress that ever I saw her in to her advantage. Went as far as Mile End with Sir W. Pen, whose coach took him up there for his country house; and, after having drunk there, at the Rose and Crowne, a good house for Alderman Bide's ale, we parted.

18th. We had a good haunch of venison, powdered and boiled, and a good dinner. I walked towards White Hall, but, being wearied, turned into St Dunstan's Church, where I heard an able sermon of the minister of the place; and stood by a pretty, modest maid, whom I did labour to take by the hand; but she would not, but got further and further from me; and, at last, I could perceive her to take pins out of her pocket to prick me if I should touch her again—which, seeing, I did forbear, and was glad I did spy her design. And then I fell to gaze upon another pretty maid, in a pew close to me, and she on me; and I did go about to take her by the hand, which she suffered a little, and then withdrew. So the sermon ended, and the church broke up, and my amours ended also. Took coach and home, and there took up my wife, and to Islington. Between that and Kingsland, there happened an odd adventure: one of our coach-horses fell sick of the staggers, so as he was ready to fall down. The coachman was fain to 'light, and hold him up, and cut his tongue to make him bleed, and his tail: then he blew some tobacco in his nose, upon which the horse sneezed, and, by and by, grew well, and drew us all the rest of our way, as well as ever he did.

20th. Sir W. Coventry fell to discourse of retrenchments; and therein he tells how he would have but only one Clerk of the Acts. He do tell me he hath propounded how the charge of the Navy in peace shall come within £200,000, by keeping out twenty-four ships in summer, and ten in the winter. And several other particulars we went over of retrenchment: and I find I must provide some things to offer, that I may be found studious to lessen the King's charge. We up to the Duke of York, but no money to be heard of—nay, not £100 upon the most pressing service that can be imagined of bringing in the King's timber from Whittlewood,

while we have the utmost want of it. Sir W. Coventry did single out Sir W. Pen and me, and desired us to lend the King some money, out of the prizes we have taken by Hogg. He did not much press it, and we made but a merry answer thereto: but I perceive he did ask it seriously, and did tell us that there never was so much need of it in the world as now, we being brought to the lowest straits that can be in the world. My wife mightily pressing for a new pair of cuffs, which I am against the laying out of money upon yet, which makes her angry.

22d. Up, and to the Office; whence Lord Brouncker, J. Minnes, W. Pen, and I went to examine some men that are put in there, for rescuing of men that were pressed into the service: and we do plainly see that the desperate condition that we put men into for want of their pay makes them mad, they being as good men as ever were in the world, and would as readily serve the King again, were they but paid. Two men leapt overboard—among others, into the Thames, out of the vessel into which they were pressed, and were shot by the soldiers placed there to keep them, two days since; so much people do avoid the King's service! And then these men are pressed without money, and so we cannot punish them for any thing, so that we are forced only to make a show of severity by keeping them in prison, but are unable to punish them.

24th. (St Bartholomew's-day.) This morning was proclaimed the peace between us and the States of the United Provinces, and also of the King of France and Denmarke; and in the afternoon the Proclamations were printed and came out; and at night the bells rung, but no bonfires that I hear of any where, partly from the dearness of firing, but principally from the little content most people have in the peace. After dinner to a play, and there saw *The Cardinal* at the King's house, wherewith I am mightily pleased: but, above all, with Becke Marshall. But it is pretty to see how I look up and down for, and did spy Knipp; but durst not own it to my wife, for fear of angering her, and so I was forced not to take notice of her, and so homeward: and my belly now full with plays, that I do intend to bind myself to see no more till Michaelmas. Most of our discourse is about our keeping a coach the next year, which pleases my wife mightily; and if I continue as able as now, it will save us money. This day comes a letter from the Duke of York to the Board to invite us, which is as much

as to fright us, into the lending the King money ; which is a poor thing, and most dishonourable, and shows in what a case we are at the end of the war to our neighbours. And the King do now declare publicly to give 10 per cent. to all lenders ; which makes some think that the Dutch themselves will send over money, and lend it upon our publick faith, the Act of Parliament.

28th. Up ; and staid undressed till my tailor's boy did mend my vest, in order to my going to the christening anon. In the afternoon with my Lady Batten, Pen, and her daughter, and my wife, to Mrs Poole's, where I mighty merry among the women, and christened the child, a girl, Elizabeth, which, though a girl, yet my Lady Batten would have me to give the name. After christening comes Sir W. Batten, W. Pen, and Mr Lowther, and mighty merry there, and I forfeited for not kissing the two god-mothers presently after the christening, before I kissed the mother, which made good mirth. Went twice round Bartholomew fayre ; which I was glad to see again, after two years missing it by the plague.

[September] 6th. To Westminster, and then into the Hall, and there bought *Guillim's Heraldry*. To Bartholomew fair, and there, it being very dirty, and now night, we saw a poor fellow, whose legs were tied behind his back, dance upon his hands with his breech above his head, and also dance upon his crutches, without any legs upon the ground to help him, which he did with that pain that I was sorry to see it, and did pity him and give him money after he had done. Then we to see a piece of clockework made by an Englishman—indeed, very good, wherein all the several states of man's age, to 100 years old, is shewn very pretty and solemne ; and several other things more cheerful, and so we ended, and took a link, the women resolving to be dirty, and walked up and down to get a coach ; and my wife, being a little before me, had like to be taken up by one, whom we saw to be Sam Hartlib. My wife had her vizard on : yet we cannot say that he meant any hurt ; for it was just as she was by a coach-side, which he had, or had a mind to take up ; and he asked her, " Madam, do you go in this coach ? " but, as soon as he saw a man come to her, I know not whether he knows me, he departed away apace. By and by did get a coach, and so away home, and there to supper, and to bed.

8th. I met Sir G. Downing, who would speak with me, and

first to inquire what I paid for my kid's leather gloves I had on my hand, and shewed me others on his, as handsome as this in all points, cost him but 12*d.* a pair, and mine me 2*s.* He told me he had been seven years finding out a man that could dress English sheep-skin as it should be—and, indeed, it is now as good, in all respects, as kid, and he says will save £100,000 a year, that goes out to France for kid's skins. Thus he labours very worthily to advance our own trade, but do it with mighty vanity and talking. But then he told me of our base condition, in the treaty with Holland and France, about our prisoners, that whereas before we did clear one another's prisoners, man for man, and we upon the publication of the peace, did release all our's, 300 at Leith, and others in other places for nothing, the Dutch do keep their's, and will not discharge them without paying their debts according to the Treaty. I to Sir G. Carteret's to dinner; where Mr Cofferer Ashburnham; who told a good story of a prisoner being condemned at Salisbury for a small matter. While he was on the bench with his father-in-law, Judge Richardson, and while they were considering to transport him to save his life, the fellow flung a great stone at the Judge, that missed him, but broke through the wainscoat. Upon this, he had his hand cut off, and was hanged presently. Here was a gentleman, one Sheres, one come lately from my Lord Sandwich, with an express; but, Lord! I was almost ashamed to see him, lest he should know that I have not yet wrote one letter to my Lord since his going.

9th. After dinner, Creed and I and my wife to the Bear-Garden, to see a prize fought there. To White Hall; and here do hear, by Tom Killigrew and Mr Progers, that for certain news is come of Harman's having spoiled nineteen of twenty-two French ships, somewhere about the Barbadoes, I think they said; but wherever it is, it is a good service, and very welcome. I fell in talk with Tom Killigrew about musick, and he tells me that he will bring me to the best musick in England, of which, indeed, he is master, and that is two Italians and Mrs Yates, who, he says, is come to sing the Italian manner as well as ever he heard any: he says that Knipp won't take pains enough, but that she understands her part so well upon the stage, that no man nor woman in the House do the like. To the Bear-Garden, where now the yard was full of people, and those most of them seamen, striving by force to get in, that I was afraid to be seen among them, but got into the ale-house,

and so by a back way was put into the bull-house, where I stood a good while all alone among the bulls, and was afraid I was among the bears, too; but by and by the door opened. I got into the common pit; and there, with my cloak about my face, I stood and saw the prize fought, till one of them, a shoemaker, was so cut in both his wrists that he could not fight any longer, and then they broke off: his enemy was a butcher. The sport very good, and various humours to be seen among the rabble that is there. To Sir W. Batten's, to invite them to dinner on Wednesday next, having a whole buck come from Hampton Court, by the warrant which Sir Stephen Fox did give me.

10th. At the Office, where little to do but bemoan ourselves under the want of money; and indeed little is, or can be done, we having not now received one penny for any service in many weeks, and none in view, saving for paying of some seamen's wages. To St James's, where we all met, and did our usual weekly business with the Duke of York. But, Lord! methinks both he and we are mighty flat and dull to what we used to be, when Sir W. Coventry was among us. Met Mr Povy; and he and I to walk an hour or more in the Pell Mell, talking of the times. He tells me, among other things, that this business of the Chancellor do breed a kind of inward distance between the King and the Duke of York, and that it cannot be avoided; for though the latter did at first move it through his folly, yet he is made to see that he is wounded by it, and is become much a less man than he was, and so will be: but he tells me that they are, and have always been, great dissemblers one towards another; and that their parting heretofore in France is never to be thoroughly reconciled between them.

13th. Called up by people come to deliver in ten chaldron of coals, brought in one of our prizes from Newcastle. The rest we intend to sell, we having above ten chaldron between us. They sell at about 28s. or 29s. per chaldron.

20th. I out to pay some debts; among others to the tavern at the end of Billiter Lane, where my design was to see the pretty mistress of the house, which I did, and indeed is, as I always thought, one of the modestest, prettiest, plain women that ever I saw. By coach to the King's playhouse, and there saw *The Mad Couple*, my wife having been at the same play with Jane, in the 18d. seat.

23d. At my Lord Ashly's, by invitation, to dine there : at table it is worth remembering that my Lord tells us that the House of Lords is the last appeal that a man can make, upon a point of interpretation of the law, and that therein they are above the Judges ; and that he did assert this in the Lords' House upon the late occasion of the quarrel between my Lord Bristoll and the Chancellor, when the former did accuse the latter of treason, and the Judges did bring it in not to be treason : my Lord Ashly did declare that the judgement of the Judges was nothing in the presence of their Lordships, but only as far as they were the properest men to bring precedents ; but not to interpret the law to their Lordships, but only the inducements of their persuasions : and this the Lords did concur in. Another pretty thing was my Lady Ashly's speaking of the bad qualities of glass coaches ; among others, the flying open of the doors upon any great shake : but another was, that my Lady Peterborough being in her glass-coach, with the glass up, and seeing a lady pass by in a coach whom she would salute, the glass was so clear, that she thought it had been open, and so ran her head through the glass ! We were put into my Lord's room before he could come to us, and there had opportunity to look over his state of his accounts of the prizes ; and there saw how bountiful the King hath been to several people : and hardly any man almost, Commander of the Navy of any note, but hath had some reward or other out of them ; and many sums to the Privy-purse, but not so many, I see, as I thought there had been : but we could not look quite through it. But several Bed-chambermen and people about the Court had good sums ; and, among others, Sir John Minnes and Lord Brouncker have £200 a-piece for looking to the East India prizes, while I did their work for them. By and by my Lord came, and we did look over Yeabsly's business a little ; and I find how prettily this cunning Lord can be partial and dissemble it in this case, being privy to the bribe he is to receive. With Sir H. Cholmly to Westminster ; who by the way told me how merry the King and Duke of York and Court were the other day, when they were abroad a-hunting. They came to Sir G. Carteret's house at Cranbourne and there were entertained, and all made drunk ; and being all drunk, Armerer did come to the King, and swore to him " by God, Sir," says he, " you are not so kind to the Duke of York of late as you used to be."—" Not I ? " says the King. " Why so ? "—" Why," says

he, "if you are, let us drink his health."—"Why, let us," says the King. Then he fell on his knees and drank it; and having done, the King began to drink it. "Nay, Sir," says Armerer, "by God you must do it on your knees!" So he did, and then all the company: and having done it, all fell a-crying for joy, being all maudlin and kissing one another, the King the Duke of York, and the Duke of York the King: and in such a maudlin pickle as never people were: and so passed the day. But Sir H. Cholmly tells me, that the King hath this good luck, that the next day he hates to have any body mention what he had done the day before, nor will he suffer any body to gain upon him that way; which is a good quality.

26th. To my chamber, whither Jonas Moore comes, and tells me the mighty use of Napier's bones; so that I will have a pair presently.

27th. While I was busy at the Office, my wife sends for me to come home, and what was it but to see the pretty girl which she is taking to wait upon her: and though she seems not altogether so great a beauty as she had before told me, yet indeed she is mighty pretty; and so pretty, that I find I shall be too much pleased with it, and therefore could be contented as to my judgment, though not to my passion, that she might not come, lest I may be found too much minding her, to the discontent of my wife. She is to come next week. She seems, by her discourse, to be grave beyond her bigness and age, and exceeding well bred as to her deportment, having been a scholar in a school at Bow these seven or eight years. Creed and Sheres come and dined with me; and we had a great deal of pretty discourse of the ceremoniousness of the Spaniards, whose ceremonies are so many and so known, that, Sheres tells me, upon all occasions of joy or sorrow in a Grandee's family, my Lord Ambassador is fain to send one with an *en hora buena*, if it be upon a marriage, or birth of a child, or a *pasa me*, if it be upon the death of a child, or so. And these ceremonies are so set, and the words of the compliment, that he hath been sent from my Lord, when he hath done no more than send in word to the Grandee that one was there from the Ambassador; and he knowing what was his errand, that hath been enough, and he never spoke with him: nay, several Grandees having been to marry a daughter, have wrote letters to my Lord to give him notice, and out of the greatness of his wisdom to desire his advice, though people he never saw; and then my Lord he answers by commending the greatness of his

discretion in making so good an alliance, etc., and so ends. He says that it is so far from dishonour to a man to give private revenge for an affront, that the contrary is a disgrace; they holding that he that receives an affront is not fit to appear in the sight of the world till he hath revenged himself; and therefore, that a gentleman there that receives an affront oftentimes never appears again in the world till he hath, by some private way or other, revenged himself: and that, on this account, several have followed their enemies privately to the Indys, thence to Italy, thence to France and back again, waiting for an opportunity to be revenged. He says my Lord was fain to keep a letter from the Duke of York to the Queen of Spain a great while in his hands, before he could think fit to deliver it, till he had learnt whether the Queen could receive it, it being directed to his cozen. He tells me of their wooing by serenades at the window, and that their friends do always make the match; but yet they have opportunities to meet at masse at church, and there they make love; that the Court there hath no dancing, nor visits at night to see the King or Queen, but is always just like a cloyster, nobody stirring in it: that my Lord Sandwich wears a beard now, turned up in the Spanish manner. But that which pleased me most indeed is, that the peace which he hath made with Spain is now printed here, and is acknowledged by all the merchants to be the best peace that ever England had with them: and it appears that the King thinks it so, for this is printed before the ratification is gone over; whereas that with France and Holland was not in a good while after, till copys came over of it in English out of Holland and France, that it was a reproach not to have it printed here. This I am mighty glad of; and is the first and only piece of good news, or thing fit to be owned, that this nation hath done several years. Anon comes Pelling, and he and I to Gray's-Inne Fields, thinking to have heard Mrs Knight sing at her lodgings, by a friend's means of his; but we come too late; so must try another time.

29th. (Lord's day.) Put off first my summer's silk suit, and put on a cloth one. Then to church. All the afternoon talking in my chamber with my wife, about my keeping a coach the next year, and doing some things to my house; which will cost money—that is, furnish our best chamber with tapestry, and other rooms with pictures. In the evening read good books—my wife to me; and I did even my kitchen accounts.

October 1st. To White Hall; and there in the Boarded Gallery did hear the musick with which the King is presented this night by Monsieur Grebus, the master of his musick; both instrumentall—I think twenty-four violins—and vocall; an English song upon Peace. But, God forgive me! I never was so little pleased with a concert of musick in my life. The manner of setting of words and repeating them out of order, and that with a number of voices, makes me sick, the whole design of vocall musick being lost by it. Here was a great press of people; but I did not see many pleased with it, only the instrumental musick he had brought by practice to play very just.

3d. To St James's, where Sir W. Coventry took me into the gallery, and walked with me an hour, discoursing of Navy business, and with much kindness to, and confidence in, me still; which I must endeavour to preserve, and will do; and, good man! all his care how to get the Navy paid off, and that all other things therein may go well. He gone, I thence to my Lady Peterborough, who sent for me; and with her an hour talking about her husband's pension, and how she hath got an order for its being paid again; though I believe, for all that order, it will hardly be; but of that I said nothing; but her design is to get it paid again: and how to raise money upon it, to clear it from the engagement which lies upon it to some citizens, who lent her husband money, without her knowledge, upon it, to vast loss. She intends to force them to take their money again, and release her husband of those hard terms. The woman is a very wise woman, and is very plain in telling me how her plate and jewels are at pawne for money, and how they are forced to live beyond their estate, and do get nothing by his being a courtier. The lady I pity, and her family. Took out my wife and Willet, thinking to have gone to a play, but both houses were begun, and so we to the 'Change, and thence to my tailor's, and there, the coachman desiring to go home to change his horses, we went with him into a nasty end of all St Giles's, and there went into a nasty room, a chamber of his, where he hath a wife and child, and there staid, it growing dark, too, and I angry thereat, till he shifted his horses, and then home apace.

5th. To the King's house: and there, going in, met with Knipp, and she took us up into the tireing-rooms: and to the women's shift, where Nell was dressing herself, and was all unready, and is very pretty, prettier than I thought. And into the scene-room, and

there sat down, and she gave us fruit : and here I read the questions to Knipp, while she answered me, through all her part of *Flora Figarys*, which was acted to-day. But, Lord ! to see how they were both painted would make a man mad, and did make me loath them ; and what base company of men comes among them ! and how poor the men are in clothes, and yet what a show they make on the stage by candle-light, is very observable. But to see how Nell cursed, for having so few people in the pit, was pretty ; the other house carrying away all the people at the new play, and is said, now-a-days, to have generally most company, as being better players. By and by into the pit, and there saw the play, which is pretty good.

10th. I spent alone with my Lady, after dinner, the most of the afternoon, and anon the two twins were sent for from school, at Mr Taylor's, to come to see me, and I took them into the garden, and there, in one of the summer-houses, did examine them, and do find them so well advanced in their learning, that I am amazed at it : they repeating a whole ode without book out of Horace, and give me a very good account of any thing almost, and did make me very readily very good Latin, and did give me good account of their Greek grammar, beyond all possible expectation ; and so grave and manly as I never saw, I confess, nor could have believed ; so that they will be fit to go to Cambridge in two years at most. They are both little, but very like one another, and well-looking children.

15th. My wife, and I, and Willett to the Duke of York's house, where, after long stay, the King and Duke of York come, and there saw *The Coffee-house*, the most ridiculous, insipid play that ever I saw in my life, and glad we were that Betterton had no part in it. But here, before the play begun, my wife begun to complain to me of Willett's confidence in sitting cheek by jowl by us, which was a poor thing ; but I perceive she is already jealous of my kindness to her, so that I begin to fear this girl is not likely to stay long with us.

24th. To write what letters I had to write, that I might go abroad with my wife, who was not well, only to jumble her, and so to the Duke of York's playhouse ; and there Betterton, not being yet well, we would not stay, though since I hear that Smith do act his part in *The Villaine*, which was then acted as well or better than he, which I do not believe : but to Charing Cross,

there to see Polichinelli. But, it being begun, we in to see a Frenchman, at the house, where my wife's father last lodged, one Monsieur Prin, play on the trump-marine, which he do beyond belief; and, the truth is, it do so far outdo a trumpet as nothing more, and he do play anything very true. The instrument is open at the end, I discovered; but he would not let me look into it.

November 1st. To Sir W. Coventry's. The Duke of Albemarle's and Prince's narratives, given yesterday by the House, fall foul of him and Sir G. Carteret in something about the dividing of the fleete, and the Prince particularly charging the Commissioners of the Navy with negligence, whereof Sir W. Coventry is one. The Duke of Albemarle charges W. Coventry that he should tell him, when he come down to the fleete with Sir G. Carteret, to consult about the dividing the fleete, that the Dutch would not be out in six weeks, which W. Coventry says is as false as is possible, and he can prove the contrary by the Duke of Albemarle's own letters. The Duke says that he did upon sight of the Dutch call a council of officers, and they did conclude they could not avoid fighting the Dutch; and yet we did go to the enemy, and found them at anchor, which is a pretty contradiction. And he tells me that Spragg did the other day say in the House, that the Prince, upon his going from the Duke of Albemarle with his fleete, did tell him that if the Dutch should come on, the Duke was to follow him, the Prince, with his fleete, and not fight the Dutch. But it is a sad consideration that all this picking of holes in one another's coats—nay, and the thanks of the House to the Prince and the Duke of Albemarle, and all this envy and design to ruin Sir W. Coventry—did arise from Sir W. Coventry's unfortunate mistake the other day, in producing a letter from the Duke of Albemarle touching the good condition of all things at Chatham just before the Dutch come up, and did us that fatal mischief; for upon this they are resolved to undo him, and I pray God they do not. To chapel, it being All-Hallows day, and heard a fine anthem, made by Pelham, who is come over. I this morning before chapel visited Sir G. Carteret, who is vexed to see how things are likely to go, but cannot help it, and yet seems to think himself mighty safe. I also visited my Lord Hinchinbroke, at his chamber at White Hall; I am mightily pleased with his sobriety and few words; there I found Mr Turner, Moore, and Creed talking of my Lord Sandwich, whose case I doubt is but bad, and, I fear, will not escape

being worse. To the King's playhouse, and there saw a silly play and an old one, *The Taming of a Shrew*.

2d. To the King's playhouse, and there saw *Henry the Fourth*: and contrary to expectation, was pleased in nothing more than in Cartwright's speaking of Falstaffe's speech about "What is Honour?" The house full of Parliament-men, it being holyday with them: and it was observable how a gentleman of good habit, sitting just before us, eating of some fruit in the midst of the play, did drop down as dead, being choked; but with much ado Orange Moll did thrust her finger down his throat, and brought him to life again.

4th. To Turlington, the great spectacle-maker, for advice, who dissuades me from using old spectacles, but rather young ones, and do tell me that nothing can wrong my eyes more than for me to use reading-glasses, which do magnify much.

7th. At noon resolved with Sir W. Pen to go to see *The Tempest*, an old play of Shakespeare's, acted, I hear, the first day; and so my wife, and girl, and W. Hewer by themselves, and Sir W. Pen and I afterwards by ourselves: and forced to sit in the side balcone over against the musique-room at the Duke's house, close by my Lady Dorset and a great many great ones. The house mighty full; the King and Court there: and the most innocent play that ever I saw; and a curious piece of musick in an echo of half sentences, the echo repeating the former half, while the man goes on to the latter; which is mighty pretty. The play has no great wit, but yet good, above ordinary plays.

8th. Called up betimes by Sir H. Cholmly, and he and I to good purpose most of the morning—I in my dressing-gown with him, on our Tangier accounts, and stated them well; and here he tells me that he believes it will go hard with my Lord Chancellor. Thence I to the Office, where met on some special business; and here I hear that the Duke of York is very ill; and by and by word brought us that we shall not need to attend to-day on the Duke of York, for he is not well, which is bad news. They being gone, I to my workmen, who this day come to alter my office, by beating down the wall, and making me a fayre window there, and increasing the window of my closet, which do give me some present trouble; but will be mighty pleasant. So all the whole day among them till very late, and so home weary, to supper, and to bed, troubled for the Duke of York, his being sick.

13th. To the Duke of York's house, and there saw *The Tempest* again, which is very pleasant, and full of so good variety, that I cannot be more pleased almost in a comedy, only the seaman's part a little too tedious. To my chamber, and do begin anew to bind myself to keep my old vows, and among the rest not to see a play till Christmas but once in every other week, and have laid aside £10, which is to be lost to the poor, if I do.

21st. My wife not very well, but is to go to Mr Mills's child's christening, where she is godmother. With Creed to a tavern, where Dean Wilkins and others : and good discourse ; among the rest, of a man that is a little frantic, that hath been a kind of minister, Dr Wilkins saying that he hath read for him in his church, that is poor and a debauched man, that the College have hired for 20s. to have some of the blood of a sheep let into his body ; and it is to be done on Saturday next. They purpose to let in in about twelve ounces ; which, they compute, is what will be let in in a minute's time by a watch. Home, and there my wife tells me great stories of the gossiping women of the parish—what this, and what that woman was ; and, among the rest, how Mrs Hollworthy is the veriest confident bragging gossip of them all, which I should not have believed ; but that Sir R. Brookes, her partner, was mighty civil to her, and taken with her, and what not. Inventing a cypher to put on a piece of plate, which I must give, better than ordinary, to the Parson's child.

23d. Busy till late preparing things to fortify myself and fellows against the Parliament ; and particularly myself against what I fear is thought, that I have suppressed the Order of the Board by which the discharging the great ships at Chatham by tickets was directed ; whereas, indeed, there was no such Order.

29th. Waked about seven o'clock this morning with a noise I supposed I heard, near our chamber, of knocking, which, by and by, increased : and I, more awake, could distinguish it better. I then waked my wife, and both of us wondered at it, and lay so great a while, while that increased, and at last heard it plainer, knocking, as if it were breaking down a window for people to get out ; and then removing of stools and chairs ; and plainly, by and by, going up and down our stairs. We lay, both of us, afraid ; yet I would have rose, but my wife would not let me. Besides, I could not do it without making noise ; and we did both conclude that thieves were in the house, but wondered what our people did,

whom we thought either killed, or afraid, as we were. Thus we lay till the clock struck eight, and high day. At last, I removed my gown and slippers safely to the other side of the bed over my wife; and there safely rose, and put on my gown and breeches, and then, with a firebrand in my hand, safely opened the door, and saw nor heard any thing. Then, with fear, I confess, went to the maid's chamber-door, and all quiet and safe. Called Jane up, and went down safely, and opened my chamber-door, where all well. Then more freely about, and to the kitchen, where the cook-maid up, and all safe. So up again, and when Jane come, and we demanded whether she heard no noise, she said, "yes, but was afraid," but rose with the other maid, and found nothing; but heard a noise in the great stack of chimnies that goes from Sir J. Minnes through our house; and so we sent, and their chimnies have been swept this morning, and the noise was that, and nothing else. It is one of the most extraordinary accidents in my life, and gives ground to think of Don Quixote's adventures how people may be surprised, and the more from an accident last night, that our young gibb-cat did leap down our stairs from top to bottom, at two leaps, and frightened us, that we could not tell well whether it was the cat or a spirit and do sometimes think this morning that the house might be haunted.

[December] 31st. Thus ends the year, with great happiness to myself and family as to health and good condition in the world, blessed be God for it! only with great trouble to my mind in reference to the publick, there being but little hopes left but that the whole nation must in a very little time be lost, either by troubles at home, the Parliament being dissatisfied, and the King led into unsettled councils by some about him, himself considering little, and divisions growing between the King and Duke of York; or else by foreign invasion, to which we must submit if any, at this bad point of time, should come upon us, which the King of France is well able to do. These thoughts, and some cares trouble me, concerning my standing in this Office when the Committee of Parliament shall come to examine our Navy matters, which they will now shortly do. I pray God they may do the kingdom service therein, as they will have sufficient opportunity of doing it!

1667-68

January 1st. Dined with my Lord Crewe, with whom was Mr Browne, Clerk of the House of Lords, and Mr John Crewe. Here was mighty good discourse, as there is always; and among other things my Lord Crewe did turn to a place in the *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, wrote by Sir Fulke Greville, which do foretell the present condition of this nation, in relation to the Dutch, to the very degree of a prophecy; and is so remarkable that I am resolved to buy one of them, it being, quite throughout, a good discourse. Here they did talk much of the present cheapness of corne, even to a miracle; so as their farmers can pay no rent, but do fling up their lands; and would pay in corne: but, which I did observe to my Lord, and he liked well of it, our gentry are grown so ignorant in every thing of good husbandry, that they know not how to bestow this corne: which, did they understand but a little trade, they would be able to joyne together, and know what markets there are abroad, and send it thither, and thereby ease their tenants and be able to pay themselves. Thence I after dinner to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw *Sir Martin Mar-all*; which I have seen so often, and yet am mightily pleased with it, and think it mighty witty, and the fullest of proper matter for mirth that ever was writ; and I do clearly see that they do improve in their acting of it. Here a mighty company of citizens, 'prentices, and others; and it makes me observe, that when I began first to be able to bestow a play on myself, I do not remember that I saw so many by half of the ordinary 'prentices and mean people in the pit at 2s. 6d. a-piece as now; I going for several years no higher than the 12d. and then the 18d. places, though I strained hard to go in when I did: so much the vanity and prodigality of the age is to be observed in this particular. By and by I met with Mr Brisband; and having it in my mind this Christmas to do what I never can remember that I did, go to see the gaming at the Groome-Porter's, I having in my coming from the playhouse stepped into the two Temple-halls, and there saw the dirty 'prentices and idle people playing; wherein I was mistaken, in thinking to have seen gentlemen of quality playing there, as I think it was when I was a little child, that one of my father's servants, John Bassum, I think, carried me in his arms thither. I did tell Brisband of it, and he did lead me thither, where, after staying an hour, they begun to play at

about eight at night, where to see how differently one man took his losing from another, one cursing and swearing, and another only muttering and grumbling to himself, a third without any apparent discontent at all: to see how the dice will run good luck in one hand, for half an hour together, and another have no good luck at all: to see how easily here, where they play nothing but guinnys, a £100 is won or lost: to see two or three gentlemen come in there drunk, and putting their stock of gold together, one 22 pieces, the second 4, and the third 5 pieces; and these two play one with another, and forget how much each of them brought, but he that brought the 22 thinks that he brought no more than the rest: to see the different humours of gamesters to change their luck, when it is bad, how ceremonious they are to call for new dice, to shift their places, to alter their manner of throwing, and that with great industry, as if there was anything in it. And mighty glad I am that I did see it, and it may be will find another evening, before Christmas be over, to see it again, when I may stay later, for their heat of play begins not till about eleven or twelve o'clock; which did give me another pretty observation of a man, that did win mighty fast when I was there. I think he won £100 at single pieces in a little time. While all the rest envied him his good fortune, he cursed it, saying, "it come so early upon me," for this fortune two hours hence would be worth something to me, but then I shall have no such luck. This kind of prophane, mad entertainment they give themselves. And so I, having enough for once, refusing to venture, though Brisband pressed me hard, and tempted me with saying that no man was ever known to lose the first time, the devil being too cunning to discourage a gamester; and he offered me also to lend me ten pieces to venture; but I did refuse, and so went away.

2d. Attended the King and the Duke of York in the Duke of York's lodgings, with the rest of the officers and many of the Commanders of the fleete, and some of our master shipwrights, to discourse the business of having the topmasts of ships made to lower abaft of the mainmast; a business I understand not, and so can give no good account; but I do see that by how much greater the Council, and the number of Counsellors is, the more confused the issue is of their councils; so that little was said to the purpose regularly, and but little use was made of it, they coming to a very broken conclusion upon it, to make trial in a ship or two. I took

my wife and girl out to the New Exchange, and there my wife bought herself a lace for a handkercher, which I do give her, of about £3, for a new year's gift, and I did buy also a lace for a band for myself. It is generally believed that France is endeavouring a firmer league with us than the former, in order to his going on with his business against Spain the next year; which I am, and so every body else is, I think, very glad of, for all our fear is, of his invading us.

23d. To Mrs Turner's, where my wife, and Deb., and I, and Batelier spent the night, and supped, and played at cards, and very merry. She is either a very prodigal woman, or richer than she would be thought, by her buying of the best things, and laying out much money in new-fashioned pewter; and, among other things, a new-fashioned case for a pair of snuffers, which is very pretty; but I could never have guessed what it was for, had I not seen the snuffers in it.

24th. After being at the Office, I home to supper, and to bed, my eyes being very bad again with overworking with them.

[February] 8th. To the Strand, to my bookseller's, and there bought an idle, rogueish French book, which I have bought in plain binding, avoiding the buying of it better bound, because I resolve, as soon as I have read it, to burn it, that it may not stand in the list of books, nor among them, to disgrace them if it should be found.

18th. Up to my wife, not owning my being at a play, and there she shows me her ring of a Turkey-stone [turquoise], set with little sparks of dyamonds, which I am to give her, as my Valentine, and I am not much troubled at it. It will cost me near £5—she costing me but little compared with other wives, and I have not many occasions to spend money on her.

21st. Comes to me young Captain Beckford, the slopseller, and there presents me a little purse with gold in it, it being, as he told me, for his present to me, at the end of the last year. I told him I had not done him any service I knew of. He persisted, and I refused; and telling him that it was not an age to take presents in, he told me he had reason to present me with something, and desired me to accept of it, which, at his so urging me, I did.

[March] 12th. To Gresham College, there to show myself; and was there greeted by Dr Wilkins, Whistler, and others, as the patron of the Navy Office, and one that got great fame by my late

speech to the Parliament. Then home to supper, and to talk with Mr Pelling, who tells me what a fame I have in the City by my late performance; and upon the whole I bless God for it. I think I have, if I can keep it, done myself a great deal of repute. So by and by to bed.

[April] 3d. As soon as we had done with the Duke of York, we did attend the Council; and were there called in, and did hear Mr Solicitor [General] make his Report to the Council in the business of a complaint against us, for having prepared certificates on the Exchequer for the further sum of £50,000; which he did in a most excellent manner of words, but most cruelly severe against us, and so were some of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, as men guilty of a practice with the tradesmen, to the King's prejudice. I was unwilling to enter into a contest with them; but took advantage of two or three words last spoke, and brought it to a short issue in good words, that if we had the King's order to hold our hands, we would, which did end the matter: and they all resolved we should have it, and so it ended: and we away; I vexed that I did not speak more in a cause so fit to be spoke in, and wherein we had so much advantage; but perhaps I might have provoked the Solicitor and the Commissioners of the Treasury, and therefore, since, I am not sorry that I forebore. This day I hear that Prince Rupert and Holmes do go to sea: and by this there is a seeming friendship and peace among our great seamen; but the devil a bit is there any love among them, or can be.

21st. Took Mrs Turner to the King's house, and saw *The Indian Emperour*; and after that done, took Knipp out, and to Kensington; and there walked in the garden, and then supped, and mighty merry, there being also in the house Sir Philip Howard, and some company, and had a dear reckoning, but merry, and away, it being quite night, home.

25th. This day I did first put off my waste-coate, the weather being very hot, but yet lay in it, at night, and shall, for a little time.

[May] 3d. (Lord's day.) To Church, where I saw Sir A. Rickard, though he be under the Black Rod, by order of the Lords' House, upon the quarrel between the East India Company and Skinner, which is like to come to a very great heat between the two Houses. At noon comes Mr Mills and his wife, and Mr Turner and his wife, by invitation to dinner, and we were mighty

merry, and a very pretty dinner, of my Bridget and Nell's dressing, very handsome. With Sir W. Pen to Old Street, to see Sir Thomas Teddiman, who is very ill in bed of a fever, got, I believe, by the fright the Parliament have put him into, of late. Thence Pen and I to Islington, and there, at the old house, eat and drank, and merry, and there by chance giving two pretty fat boys each of them a cake, they proved to be Captain Holland's children, whom therefore I pity.

9th. Into the King's House, and there *The Mayd's Tragedy*, a good play, but Knipp not there; and my head and eyes out of order, the first from my drinking wine at dinner, and the other from my much work.

11th. Took coach, and called Mercer, and she and I to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw *The Tempest*, and between two acts, I went out to Mr Harris, and got him to repeat to me the words of the Echo, while I writ them down, having tried in the play to have wrote them; but, having done it without looking upon my paper, I find I could not read the blacklead. But now I have got the words clear, and, in going in thither, had the pleasure to see their actors in their several dresses, especially the seamen and monster, which were very droll: so into the play again. But there happened one thing which vexed me, which is, that the orange-woman did come in the pit, and challenge me for twelve oranges, which she delivered by my order at a late play, at night, in order to give to some ladies in a box, which was wholly untrue, but yet she swore it to be true. But, however, I did deny it, and did not pay her; but, for quiet, did buy 4s. worth of oranges of her, at 6d. a-piece.

12th. To Mrs Mercer's, where I met with her two daughters, and a pretty lady I never knew yet, one Mrs Susan Gayet, a very pretty black lady, that speaks French well, and is a Catholick, and merchant's daughter, by us, and here was also Mrs Anne Jones. I took them out, and carried them through Hackney to Kingsland, and there walked to Sir G. Whitmore's house, where I have not been many a day; and so to the old house at Islington, and eat, and drank, and sang, and mighty merry; and so by moonshine with infinite pleasure home, and there sang again in Mercer's garden. And so parted, I having seen a mummy in a merchant's warehouse there, all the middle of the man or woman's body, black and hard. I never saw any before, and, therefore, it pleased me

much, though an ill sight ; and he did give me a little bit, and a bone of an arme, I suppose, and so home.

16th. Up ; and to the Office, where we sat all the morning ; and at noon, home with my people to dinner ; and thence to the Office all the afternoon, till, my eyes weary, I did go forth by coach to the King's playhouse, and there saw the best part of *The Sea Voyage*, where Knipp did her part of sorrow very well. I afterwards to her house ; but she did not come presently home ; and there I did kiss her maid, who is so mighty belle ; and I to my tailor's, and to buy me a belt for my new suit against to-morrow ; and so home, and there to my Office, and afterwards late walking in the garden ; and so home to supper, and to bed, after Nell's cutting of my hair close, the weather being very hot.

29th. Received some directions from the Duke of York and the Committee of the Navy about casting up the charge of the present summer's fleete, that so they may come within the bounds of the sum given by the Parliament. But it is pretty to see how Prince Rupert, and other mad, silly people, are for setting out but a little fleete, there being no occasion for it ; and say it will be best to save the money for better uses. But Sir G. Carteret did declare that, in wisdom, it was better to do so ; but that, in obedience to the Parliament, he was for setting out the fifty sail talked on, though it spent all the money, and to little purpose ; and that this was better than to leave it to the Parliament to make bad constructions of their thrift, if any trouble should happen. Thus wary the world is grown ! Thence back again, presently home, and did business till noon : and then to Sir G. Carteret's to dinner, with much good company, it being the King's birthday, and many healths drunk : and here I did receive another letter from my Lord Sandwich, which troubles me to see how I have neglected him, in not writing, or but once, all this time of his being abroad ; and I see he takes notice, but yet gently, of it. Home, whither, by agreement, by and by comes Mercer and Gayet, and two gentlemen with them, Mr Monteith and Pelham, the former a swaggering young handsome gentleman, the latter a sober citizen merchant. Both sing, but the latter with great skill—the other, no skill, but a good voice, and a good basse, but used to sing only tavern tunes ; and so I spent all this evening till eleven at night singing with them, till I was tired of them, because of the swaggering fellow, though the girl Mercer did mightily commend him before to me.

[June] 5th. (Friday.) At Barnet, for milk, 6*d.* On the highway, to menders of the highway, 6*d.* Dinner at Stevenage, 5*s.* 6*d.*

6th. (Saturday.) Spent at Huntingdon with Bowles, and Appleyard, and Shepley, 2*s.*

7th. (Sunday.) My father, for money lent, and horse-hire, £1. 11*s.*

8th. (Monday.) Father's servants, father having in the garden told me bad stories of my wife's ill words, 14*s.*; one that helped at the horses, 1*s.*; menders of the highway, 2*s.* Pleasant country to Bedford, where, while they stay, I rode through the town; and a good country-town: and there, drinking, 1*s.* We on to Newport; and there I and W. Hewer to the Church, and there give the boy 1*s.* So to Buckingham, a good old town. Here I to see the Church, which very good, and the leads, and a school in it: did give the sexton's boy 1*s.* A fair bridge here, with many arches: vexed at my people's making me lose so much time: reckoning, 13*s.* 4*d.* Mightily pleased with the pleasure of the ground all the day. At night to Newport Pagnell; and there a good pleasant country-town, but few people in it. A very fair and like a Cathedral-Church; and I saw the leads, and a vault that goes far under ground: the town, and so most of this country, well watered. Lay here well, and rose next day by four o'clock: few people in the town: and so away. Reckoning for supper, 19*s.* 6*d.*; poor, 6*d.* Mischance to the coach, but no time lost.

9th. (Tuesday.) We came to Oxford, a very sweet place: paid our guide £1. 2*s.* 6*d.*; barber, 2*s.* 6*d.*; book, *Stonehenge*, 4*s.*; boy that showed me the colleges before dinner, 1*s.* To dinner; and then out with my wife and people, and landlord: and to him that showed us the schools and library, 10*s.*; to him that showed us All Souls' College and Chichly's picture, 5*s.* So to see Christ Church with my wife, I seeing several others very fine alone, before dinner, and did give the boy that went with me 1*s.* Strawberries, 1*s.* 2*d.* Dinner and servants, £1. 0*s.* 6*d.* After coming home from the schools, I out with the landlord to Brazen-nose College to the butteries, and in the cellar find the hand of the Child of Hales, . . . long. Butler, 2*s.* Thence with coach and people to Physic-garden, 1*s.* So to Friar Bacon's study: I up and saw it, and gave the man 1*s.* Bottle of sack for landlord, 2*s.* Oxford mighty fine place; and well seated, and cheap entertainment. At night came to Abingdon, where had been a fair of custard; and

met many people and scholars going home; and there did get some pretty good musick, and sang and danced till supper: 5s.

10th. (Wednesday.) Up, and walked to the Hospitall: very large and fine, and pictures of founders, and the History of the Hospitall; and is said to be worth £700 per annum, and that Mr Foly was here lately to see how their lands were settled; and here, in old English, the story of the occasion of it, and a rebus at the bottom. So did give the poor, which they would not take but in their box, 2s. 6d. So to the inn, and paid the reckoning and what not, 13s. So forth towards Hungerford, led this good way by our landlord, one Heart, an old but very civil and well-spoken man, more than I ever heard, of his quality. He gone, we forward; and I vexed at my people's not minding the way. So come to Hungerford, where very good trouts, eels, and crayfish. Dinner: a mean town. At dinner there, 12s. Thence set out with a guide, who saw us to Newmarket-heath, and then left us, 3s. 6d. So all over the Plain by the sight of the steeple, the Plain high and low, to Salisbury, by night; but before I came to the town, I saw a great fortification, and there 'light, and to it and in it; and find it prodigious, so as to fright me to be in it all alone at that time of night, it being dark. I understand, since, it to be that, that is called Old Sarum. Come to the George Inne, where lay in a silk bed; and very good diet. To supper; then to bed.

11th. (Thursday.) Up, and W. Hewer and I up and down the town, and find it a very brave place. The river goes through every street; and a most capacious market-place. The city great, I think greater than Hereford. But the Minster most admirable; as big, I think, and handsomer than Westminster: and a most large Close about it, and houses for the Officers thereof, and a fine palace for the Bishop. So to my lodging back, and took out my wife and people to show them the town and Church; but they being at prayers, we could not be shown the Choir. A very good organ; and I looked in, and saw the Bishop, my friend Dr Ward. Thence to the inne; and there not being able to hire coach-horses, and not willing to use our own, we got saddle-horses, very dear. Boy that went to look for them, 6d. So the three women behind W. Hewer, Murford, and our guide, and I single to Stonehenge, over the Plain and some great hills, even to fright us. Come thither, and find them as prodigious as any tales I ever heard of them, and worth going this journey to see. God knows what

their use was ! they are hard to tell, but yet may be told. Gave the shepherd-woman, for leading our horses, 4*d*. So back by Wilton, my Lord Pembroke's house, which we could not see, he being just coming to town ; but the situation I do not like, nor the house at present much, it being in a low but rich valley. So back home ; and there being 'light, we to the Church, and there find them at prayers again, so could not see the Choir ; but I sent the women home, and I did go in, and saw very many fine tombs, and among the rest some very ancient, of the Montagus. So home to dinner ; and, that being done, paid the reckoning, which was so exorbitant, and particular in rate of my horses, and 7*s*. 6*d*. for bread and beer, that I was mad, and resolve to trouble the mistress about it, and get something for the poor ; and come away in that humour : £2. 5*s*. 6*d*. Servants, 1*s*. 6*d*. ; poor, 1*s*. ; guide to the Stones, 2*s*. ; poor woman in the street, 1*s*. ; ribbands, 9*d*. ; wash-woman, 1*s*. ; sempstress for W. Hewer, 3*s*. ; lent W. Hewer, 2*s*. Thence about six o'clock, and with a guide went over the smooth Plain indeed till night ; and then, by a happy mistake, and that looked like an adventure, we were carried out of our way to a town where we would lye, since we could not go as far as we would. And there with great difficulty come about ten at night to a little inn, where we were fain to go into a room where a pedlar was in bed, and made him rise ; and there wife and I lay, and in a truckle-bed Betty Turner and Willett. But good beds, and the master of the house a sober, understanding man, and I had good discourse with him about this country's matters, as wool, and corne, and other things. And he also merry, and made us mighty merry at supper, about manning the new ship, at Bristol, with none but men whose wives do master them ; and it seems it is in reproach to some men of estate that are such hereabouts, that this is become common talk. By and by to bed, glad of this mistake, because, as it seems, had we gone on as we intended, we could not have passed with our coach, and must have lain on the Plain all night. This day from Salisbury I wrote by the post my excuse for not coming home, which I hope will do, for I am resolved to see the Bath, and, it may be, Bristol.

12th. (Friday.) Up, finding our beds good, but lousy ; which made us merry. We set out, the reckoning and servants coming to 9*s*. 6*d*. ; my guide thither, 2*s*. ; coachman, advanced, 10*s*. So rode a very good way, led to my great content by our landlord to

Philips-Norton, with great pleasure, being now come into Somersetshire ; where my wife and Deb. mightily joyed thereat, I commending the country, as indeed it deserves. And the first town we came to was Breckington, where, we stopping for something for the horses, we called two or three little boys to us, and pleased ourselves with their manner of speech. At Philips-Norton I walked to the Church, and there saw a very ancient tomb of some Knight Templar, I think ; and here saw the tombstone whereon there were only two heads cut, which the story goes, and credibly, were two sisters, called the Fair Maids of Foscott, that had two bodies upward and one belly, and there lie buried. Here is also a very fine ring of six bells, and they mighty tuneable. Having dined very well, 10s., we come before night to the Bath ; where I presently stepped out with my landlord, and saw the baths, with people in them. They are not so large as I expected, but yet pleasant ; and the town most of stone, and clean, though the streets generally narrow. I home, and being weary, went to bed without supper ; the rest supping.

13th. (Saturday.) Up at four o'clock, being by appointment called up to the Cross Bath, where we were carried one after another, myself, and wife, and Betty Turner, Willet, and W. Hewer. And by and by, though we designed to have done, before company come, much company come ; very fine ladies ; and the manner pretty enough, only methinks it cannot be clean to go so many bodies together in the same water. Good conversation among them that are acquainted here, and stay together. Strange to see how hot the water is ; and in some places, though this is the most temperate bath, the springs so hot as the feet not able to endure. But strange to see, when women and men here, that live all the season in these waters, cannot but be parboiled, and look like the creatures of the bath ! Carried away, wrapped in a sheet, and in a chair, home ; and there one after another thus carried, I staying above two hours in the water, home to bed, sweating for an hour ; and by and by, comes musick to play to me, extraordinary good as ever I heard at London almost, or anywhere : 5s. Up, to go to Bristol, about eleven o'clock, and paying my landlord that was our guide from Chiltern, 10s., and the serjeant of the bath 10s., and the man that carried us in chairs, 3s. 6d., set out toward Bristol, and come thither, in coach hired to spare our own horses, about two o'clock ; the way bad, but country good, where

set down at the Horseshoe, and there, being trimmed by a very handsome fellow, 2*s.*, walked with my wife and people through the city, which is in every respect another London, that one can hardly know it, to stand in the country, no more than that. No carts, it standing generally on vaults, only dog-carts. So to the Three Crowns Tavern I was directed; but, when I came in, the master told me that he had newly given over the selling of wine; it seems, grown rich; and so went to the Sun; and there Deb. going with W. Hewer and Betty Turner to see her uncle Butts, and leaving my wife with the mistress of the house, I to see the quay, which is a most large and noble place; and to see the new ship building by Bally, neither he nor Furzer being in town. It will be a fine ship. Spoke with the foreman, and did give the boys that kept the cabin, 2*s.* Walked back to the Sun, where I find Deb. come back, and with her, her uncle, a sober merchant, very good company, and so like one of our sober, wealthy, London merchants, as pleased me mightily. Here we dined, and much good talk with him, 7*s.* 6*d.*: a messenger to Sir John Knight, who was not at home, 6*d.* Then walked with Butts and my wife and company round the quay, and to the ship; and he showed me the Custom-house, and made me understand many things of the place, and led us through Marsh Street, where our girl was born. But, Lord! the joy that was among the old poor people of the place, to see Mrs Willet's daughter, it seems her mother being a brave woman and mightily beloved! And so brought us a back way by surprize to his house, where a substantial good house, and well furnished; and did give us good entertainment of strawberries, a whole venison-pasty, cold, and plenty of brave wine, and above all Bristol milk: where comes in another poor woman, who, hearing that Deb. was here, did come running hither, and with her eyes so full of tears, and heart so full of joy, that she could not speak when she come in, that it made me weep too: I protest that I was not able to speak to her, which I would have done, to have diverted her tears. Butts's wife a good woman, and so sober and substantiall as I was never more pleased anywhere. Servant-maid, 2*s.* So thence took leave, and he with us through the city, where in walking I find the city pay him great respect, and he the like to the meanest, which pleased me mightily. He showed us the place where the merchants meet here, and a fine Cross yet standing, like Cheapside. And so to the Horseshoe, where paid the reckoning, 2*s.* 6*d.* We

back, and by moonshine to the Bath again, about ten o'clock : bad way ; and giving the coachman 1s., went all of us to bed.

14th. (Sunday.) Up, and walked up and down the town, and saw a pretty good market-place, and many good streets, and very fair stone-houses. And so to the great Church, and there saw Bishop Montagu's tomb ; and, when placed, did there see many brave people come, and, among others, two men brought in, in litters, and set down in the chancel to hear : but I did not know one face. Here a good organ ; but a vain, pragmatistical fellow preached a ridiculous, affected sermon, that made me angry, and some gentlemen that sat next me, and sang well. So home, walking round the walls of the City, which are good, and the battlements all whole. After dinner comes Mr Butts again to see me, and he and I to church, where the same idle fellow preached ; and I slept most of the sermon. To this church again, to see it, and look over the monuments, where, among others, Dr Venner and Pelling, and a lady of Sir W. Waller's ; he lying with his face broken. My landlord did give me a good account of the antiquity of this town and Wells ; and of two Heads, on two pillars, in Wells church.

15th. (Monday.) Looked into the baths, and find the King and Queen's full of a mixed sort, of good and bad, and the Cross only almost for the gentry. So home with my wife, and did pay my guides, two women, 5s. ; one man, 2s. 6d. ; poor, 6d. ; woman to lay my foot-cloth, 1s. So to our inne, and there eat and paid reckoning, £1. 8s. 6d. ; servants, 3s. ; poor, 1s. ; lent the coachman, 10s. Before I took coach, I went to make a boy dive in the King's bath, 1s. I paid also for my coach and a horse to Bristol, £1. 1s. 6d. Took coach, and away, without any of the company of the other stage-coaches, that go out of this town to-day ; and rode all day with some trouble, for fear of being out of our way, over the Downes, where the life of the shepherds is, in fair weather only, pretty. In the afternoon come to Abury, where, seeing great stones like those of Stonehenge standing up, I stopped, and took a countryman of that town, and he carried me and showed me a place trenched in, like Old Sarum almost, with great stones pitched in it, some bigger than those of Stonehenge in figure, to my great admiration : and he told me that most people of learning, coming by, do come and view them, and that the King did so : and the Mount cast hard by is called Silbury, from one King Seall buried there, as tradition says. I did give this man 1s. So took coach

again, seeing one place with great high stones pitched round, which, I believe, was once some particular building, in some measure like that of Stonehenge. But, about a mile off, it was prodigious to see how full the Downes are of great stones; and all along the vallies, stones of considerable bigness, most of them growing certainly out of the ground so thick as to cover the ground, which makes me think the less of the wonder of Stonehenge, for hence they might undoubtedly supply themselves with stones, as well as those at Abury. In my way did give to the poor and menders of the highway 3*s*. Before night come to Marlborough, and lay at the Hart; a good house, and a pretty fair town for a street or two; and what is most singular is, their houses on one side having their pent-houses supported with pillars, which makes it a good walk. All the five coaches that come this day from Bath, as well as we, were gone out of the town before six.

16th. (Tuesday.) After paying the reckoning, 14*s*. 4*d*., and servants, 2*s*., poor, 1*s*., set out; and, passing through a good part of this country of Wiltshire, saw a good house of Alexander Popham's, and another of my Lord Craven's, I think, in Barke-shire. Come to Newbery, and there dined—and musick: a song of the old courtier of Queen Elizabeth's, and how he was changed upon the coming in of the King, did please me mightily, and I did cause W. Hewer to write it out. Then comes the reckoning, forced to change gold, 8*s*. 7*d*.; servants and poor, 1*s*. 6*d*. So out, and lost our way, but come into it again; and in the evening betimes come to Reading; and I to walk about the town, which is a very great one, I think bigger than Salisbury: a river runs through it, in seven branches, which unite in one, in one part of the town, and runs into the Thames half-a-mile off: one odd sign of the Broad Face. Then to my inn, and so to bed.

17th. (Wednesday.) Rose, and paying the reckoning, 12*s*. 6*d*.; servants and poor, 2*s*. 6*d*.; musick, the worst we have had, coming to our chamber-door, but calling us by wrong names; so set out with one coach in company, and through Maydenhead, which I never saw before, to Colebrooke by noon; the way mighty good; and there dined, and fitted ourselves a little to go through London, anon. Somewhat out of humour all day, reflecting on my wife's neglect of things, and impertinent humour got by this liberty of being from me, which she is never to be trusted with; for she is a fool. Thence pleasant way to London, before night, and find

all very well, to great content ; and saw Sir W. Pen, who is well again. I hear of the ill news by the great fire at Barbadoes. Home, and there with my people to supper, all in pretty good humour, though I find my wife hath something in her gizzard, that only waits an opportunity of being provoked to bring up ; but I will not, for my content-sake, give it.

18th. At noon home to dinner, where my wife still in a melancholy, fusty humour, and crying, and do not tell me plainly what it is ; but I by little words find that she hath heard of my going to plays, and carrying people abroad every day, in her absence ; and that I cannot help but the storm will break out in a little time. So my wife not speaking a word going nor coming, nor willing to go to a play, though a new one, I to the Office, and did much business. At night home, where supped Mr Turner and his wife, and Betty and Mercer and Pelling, as merry as the ill, melancholy humour that my wife was in, would let us, which vexed me ; but I took no notice of it, thinking that will be the best way, and let it wear away itself. After supper, parted, and to bed ; and my wife troubled all night, and about one o'clock goes out of the bed to the girl's bed, which did trouble me, she crying and sobbing, without telling the cause. By and by she comes back to me, and still crying ; I then rose, and would have sat up all night, but she would have me come to bed again ; and being pretty well pacified, we to sleep.

19th. Between two and three in the morning we were waked with the maids crying out, " Fire, fire, in Marke-lane ! " So I rose and looked out, and it was dreadful ; and strange apprehensions in me, and us all, of being presently burnt. So we all rose ; and my care presently was to secure my gold, and plate, and papers, and could quickly have done it, but I went forth to see where it was ; and the whole town was presently in the streets ; and I found it in a new-built house that stood alone in Minchin-lane, over against the Cloth-workers'-hall, which burned furiously : the house not yet quite finished ; and the benefit of brick was well seen, for it burnt all inward, and fell down within itself ; so no fear of doing more hurt. So homeward, and stopped at Mr Mills's, where he and she at the door, and Mrs Turner, and Betty, and Mrs Hollworthy, and there I stayed and talked, and up to the Church leads, and saw the fire, which spent itself, till all fear over. My wife fell into her blubbering, and at length had a request to

make to me, which was, that she might go into France, and live there, out of trouble; and then all come out, that I loved pleasure and denied her any; and I find that there have been great fallings out between my father and her, whom, for ever hereafter, I must keep asunder, for they cannot possibly agree. And I said nothing, but, with very mild words and few, suffered her humour to spend, till we begun to be very quiet, and I think all will be over, and friends.

23d. To Dr Turberville about my eyes, whom I met with: and he did discourse, I thought, learnedly about them; and takes time before he did prescribe me any thing, to think of it.

27th. With my wife to buy some linnen, £13 worth, for sheets, &c., at the new shop over against the New Exchange; and the master, who is come out of London since the fire, says his and other tradesmen's retail trade is so great here, and better than it was in London, that they believe they shall not return, nor the city be ever so great for retail as heretofore.

30th. At the Office all the morning: then home to dinner, where a stinking leg of mutton, the weather being very wet and hot to keep meat in. Then to the Office again, all the afternoon: we met about the Victualler's new contract. And so up, and to walk all the evening with my wife and Mrs Turner, in the garden, till supper, about eleven at night; and so, after supper, parted, and to bed, my eyes bad, but not worse, only weary with working. But, however, very melancholy under the fear of my eyes being spoiled, and not to be recovered; for I am come that I am not able to read out a small letter, and yet my sight good for the little while I can read, as ever it was, I think.

[July] 13th. This morning I was let blood, and did bleed about fourteen ounces, towards curing my eyes.

16th. I by water with my Lord Brouncker to Arundell House, to the Royal Society, and there saw the experiment of a dog's being tied through the back, about the spinal artery, and thereby made void of all motion; and the artery being loosened again, the dog recovers. Thence to Cooper's, and saw his advance on my wife's picture, which will be indeed very fine. So with her to the 'Change, to buy some things, and here I first bought of the sempstress next my bookseller's, where the pretty young girl is, that will be a great beauty.

31st. The month ends mighty sadly with me, my eyes being

now past all use almost; and I am mighty hot upon trying the late printed experiment of paper tubes.

[August] 23d. (Lord's day.) After dinner to the Office, Mr Gibson and I, to examine my letter to the Duke of York, which, to my great joy, I did very well by my paper tube, without pain to my eyes.

September 1st. To Bartholomew Fair, and there saw several sights; among others, the mare that tells money, and many things, to admiration; and, among others, come to me, when she was bid to go to him of the company, that most loved a pretty wench in a corner. And this did cost me 12d. to the horse, which I had flung him before, and did give me occasion to kiss a mighty *belle fille* that was exceeding plain, but *fort belle*.

4th. At the Office all the morning; and at noon my wife, and Deb., and Mercer, and W. Hewer and I to the Fair, and there, at the old house, did eat a pig, and was pretty merry, but saw no sights, my wife having a mind to see the play *Bartholomew-Fair*, with puppets. And it is an excellent play; the more I see it, the more I love the wit of it; only the business of abusing the Puritans begins to grow stale, and of no use, they being the people that, at last, will be found the wisest. And here Knipp come to us, and sat with us, and thence took coach in two coaches, and losing one another, my wife, and Knipp, and I to Hercules Pillars, and there supped, and I did take from her mouth the words and notes of her song of "the Larke," which pleases me mightily. And so set her at home, and away we home, where our company come before us. This night Knipp tells us that there is a Spanish woman lately come over, that pretends to sing as well as Mrs Knight; both of whom I must endeavour to hear.

14th. Up betimes, and walked to the Temple, and stopped, viewing the Exchange, and Paul's, and St Fayth's, where strange how the very sight of the stones falling from the top of the steeple do make me sea-sick! But no hurt, I hear, hath yet happened in all this work of the steeple, which is very much.

21st. To Southwarke-Fair, very dirty, and there saw the puppet-show of Whittington, which was pretty to see; and how that idle thing do work upon people that see it, and even myself too! And thence to Jacob Hall's dancing on the ropes, where I saw such action as I never saw before, and mightily worth seeing; and here took acquaintance with a fellow that carried me to a

tavern, whither come the musick of this booth, and by and by Jacob Hall himself, with whom I had a mind to speak, to hear whether he had ever any mischief by falls in his time. He told me, "Yes, many, but never to the breaking of a limb": he seems a mighty strong man. So giving them a bottle or two of wine, I away with Payne, the waterman. He, seeking me at the play, did get a link to light me, and so light me to the Beare, where Bland, my waterman, waited for me with gold and other things he kept for me, to the value of £40 and more, which I had about me, for fear of my pockets being cut. So by link-light through the bridge, it being mighty dark, but still weather, and so home. This day also came out first the new five-pieces in gold, coined by the Guiny Company; and I did get two pieces of Mr Holder.

28th. Knipp's maid comes to me, to tell me that the women's day at the playhouse is to-day, and that therefore I must be there, to encrease their profit. I did give the pretty maid Betty that comes to me, half-a-crown for coming, and had a kiss or two—*elle* being mighty *jolie*.

[October] 20th. This day a new girl come to us in the room of Nell, who is lately, about four days since, gone away, being grown lazy and proud. This girl to stay only till we have a boy, which I intend to keep when I have a coach, which I am now about. At this time my wife and I mighty busy laying out money in dressing up our best chamber, and thinking of a coach and coachman and horses, &c.; and the more because of Creed's being now married to Mrs Pickering; a thing I could never have expected, but it is done about seven or ten days since. I walked out to look for a coach, and saw many; and did light on one for which I bid £50, which do please me mightily.

24th. This morning comes to me the coachmaker, and agreed with me for £53, and to stand to the courtesy of what more I should give him upon the finishing of the coach: he is likely, also, to fit me with a coachman.

[November] 5th. With Mr Povy spent all the afternoon going up and down among the coachmakers in Cow Lane, and did see several, and at last did pitch upon a little chariott, whose body was framed, but not covered, at the widow's, that made Mr Lowther's fine coach; and we are mightily pleased with it, it being light, and will be very genteel and sober: to be covered with leather, but yet will hold four.

22d. (Lord's day.) My wife and I lay long, with mighty content; and so rose, and she spent the whole day making herself clean, after four or five weeks being in continued dirt; and I knocking up nails, and making little settlements in my house, till noon, and then eat a bit of meat in the kitchen, I all alone. And so to the Office, to set down my journal, for some days, leaving it imperfect, the matter being mighty grievous to me, and my mind, from the nature of it; and so in, to solace myself with my wife, whom I got to read to me, and so W. Hewer, and the boy; and so, after supper, to bed. This day my boy's livery is come home, the first I ever had, of greene, lined with red; and it likes me well enough.

23d. Up, and called upon by W. Howe, who went, with W. Hewer, with me, by water to the Temple; his business was to have my advice about a place he is going to buy—the Clerk of the Patent's place, which I understand not, and so could say little to him. To visit my Lord Sandwich, who is now so reserved, or moped rather, I think, with his own business, that he bids welcome to no man, I think, to his satisfaction. I bear with it, being willing to give him as little trouble as I can, and to receive as little from him, wishing only that I had my money in my purse, that I have lent him; but, however, I shew no discontent at all. I met with Mr Povy, who tells me that this discourse which I told him of, of the Duke of Monmouth being made Prince of Wales, hath nothing in it; though he thinks there are all the endeavours used in the world to overthrow the Duke of York. He would not have me doubt of my safety in the Navy, which I am doubtful of, from the reports of a general removal; but he will endeavour to inform me, what he can gather from my Lord Arlington. That he do think that the Duke of Buckingham hath a mind rather to overthrow all the Kingdom, and bring in a Commonwealth, wherein he may think to be General of their Army, or to make himself King, which, he believes, he may be led to, by some advice he hath had with conjurers, which he do affect. I took my wife and boy to Hercules Pillars, and there dined, and thence to our upholsterer's, about some things more to buy, and so to see our coach, and so to the looking-glass man's, by the New Exchange, and so to buy a picture for our blue chamber chimney, and so home; and there I made my boy to read to me most of the night, to get through the Life of the Archbishop of Canterbury. At supper comes Mary

Batelier, and with us all the evening, prettily talking, and very innocent company she is; and she gone, we with much content to bed, and to sleep, with mighty rest all night.

24th. Up, and at the Office all the morning, and at noon home to dinner, where Mr Gentleman, the cook, and an old woman, his third or fourth wife, come and dined with us, to enquire about a ticket of his son's, that is dead; and after dinner, I with Mr Hosier to my closet, to discourse of the business of balancing Store-keeper's accounts, which he hath taken great pains in reducing to a method to my great satisfaction, and I shall be glad, for both the King's sake and his, that the thing may be put in practice, and will do my part to promote it. That done, he gone, I to the Office, where busy till night; and then with comfort to sit with my wife, and get her to read to me, and so to supper, and to bed, with my mind at mighty ease.

25th. By coach to see Sir W. Coventry; but he gone out, I to White Hall, and there waited on Lord Sandwich, which I have little encouragement to do, because of the difficulty of seeing him, and the little he hath to say to me when I do see him, or to any body else, but his own idle people about him, Sir Charles Harbord, &c. Thence walked with him to White Hall, where to the Duke of York; and there the Duke, and Wren, and I by appointment in his closet, to read over our letter to the Office, which he heard, and signed it, and it is to my mind, Mr Wren having made it somewhat sweeter to the Board, and yet with all the advice fully, that I did draw it up with. The Duke said little more to us now, his head being full of other business; but I do see that he do continue to put a value upon my advice; and so Mr Wren and I to his chamber, and there talked: and he seems to hope that these people, the Duke of Buckingham and Arlington, will run themselves off of their legs; they being forced to be always putting the King upon one idle thing or other, against the easiness of his nature, which he will never be able to bear, nor they to keep him to, and so will lose themselves. And, for instance of their little progress, he tells me that my Lord of Ormond is like yet to carry it, and to continue in his command in Ireland; at least, they cannot get the better of him yet. But he tells me that the Keeper is wrought upon, as they say, to give his opinion for the dissolving of the Parliament, which, he thinks, will undo him in the eyes of the people. He do not seem to own the hearing or fearing of any

thing to be done in the Admiralty, to the lessening of the Duke of York, though he hears how the town-talk is full of it. Thence I by coach home, and there find my cozen Roger come to dine with me, and to seal his mortgage for the £500 I lend him ; but he and I first walked to the 'Change, there to look for my uncle Wight, and get him to dinner with us. So home, buying a barrel of oysters at my old oyster-woman's in Gracious Street, but over the way to where she kept her shop before. Merry at dinner ; and the money not being ready, I carried Roger Pepys to Holborn Conduit, and there left him going to Stradwicke's, whom we avoided to see, because of our long absence, and my wife and I to the Duke of York's house, to see *The Duchesse of Malfy*, a sorry play, and sat with little pleasure. This evening, to my great content, I got Sir Richard Ford to give me leave to set my coach in his yard.

28th. All the morning at the Office, where, while I was sitting, one comes and tells me that my coach is come. So I was forced to go out, and to Sir Richard Ford's, where I spoke to him, and he is very willing to have it brought in, and stand there ; and so I ordered it, to my great content, it being mighty pretty, only the horses do not please me, and, therefore, resolve to have better.

30th. Thus ended this month, with very good content, but most expenseful to my purse on things of pleasure, having furnished my wife's closet and the best chamber, and a coach and horses, that ever I knew in the world ; and I am put into the greatest condition of outward state that ever I was in, or hoped ever to be, or desired : and this at a time when we do daily expect great changes in this Office ; and by all reports we must, all of us, turn out. But my eyes are come to that condition that I am not able to work ; and therefore that, and my wife's desire, make me have no manner of trouble in my thoughts about it. So God do his will in it !

[December] 2d. Abroad with my wife, the first time that ever I rode in my own coach, which do make my heart rejoice, and praise God, and pray him to bless it to me and continue it.

3d. To the Office, where we sat all the morning ; and at noon home to dinner, and then abroad again, with my wife, to the Duke of York's playhouse, and saw *The Unfortunate Lovers* ; a mean play, I think, but some parts very good, and excellently acted. We sat under the boxes, and saw the fine ladies ; among others, my Lady Kerneguy, who is most devilishly painted. And so home, it being mighty pleasure to go alone with my poor wife, in a coach

of our own, to a play, and makes us appear mighty great, I think, in the world; at least, greater than ever I could, or my friends for me, have once expected; or, I think, than ever any of my family ever yet lived, in my memory, but my cozen Pepys in Salisbury Court.

12th. I hear this day that there is fallen down a new house, not quite finished, in Lumbard Street, and that there have been several so, they making use of bad mortar and bricks; but no hurt yet, as God hath ordered it. This day was brought home my pair of black coach-horses, the first I ever was master of, a fine pair!

14th. To a Committee of Tangier, where, among other things, a silly account of a falling out between Norwood, at Tangier, and Mr Bland, the mayor, who is fled to Cales [Cadiz]. His complaint is ill-worded, and the other's defence the most ridiculous that ever I saw; and so everybody else that was there, thought it; but never did I see so great an instance of the use of grammar, and knowledge how to tell a man's tale as this day, Bland having spoiled his business by ill-telling it, who had work to have made himself notorious by his mastering Norwood, his enemy, if he had known how to have used it. To dinner by a hackney, my coachman being this day about breaking of my horses to the coach, they having never yet drawn. This day, I hear, and am glad, that the King hath prorogued the Parliament to October next; and, among other reasons, it will give me time to go to France, I hope.

20th. (Lord's day.) The Duke of York in good humour did fall to tell us many fine stories of the wars in Flanders, and how the Spaniards are the best disciplined foot in the world; will refuse no extraordinary service if commanded, but scorn to be paid for it, as in other countries, though at the same time they will beg in the streets: not a soldier will carry you a cloak-bag for money for the world, though he will beg a penny, and will do the thing, if commanded by his Commander. That, in the citadel of Antwerp, a soldier hath not a liberty of begging till he hath served three years. They will cry out against their King and Commanders and Generals, none like them in the world, and yet will not hear a stranger say a word of them but they will cut his throat. That, upon a time, some of the Commanders of their army exclaiming against their Generals, and particularly the Marquis de Caranen, the Confessor of the Marquis coming by and hearing them, he stops and gravely tells them that the three great trades of the world

are, the lawyers, who govern the world; the churchmen who enjoy the world; and a sort of fellows whom they call soldiers, who make it their work to defend the world.

21st. To the Temple, the first time my fine horses ever carried me, and I am mighty proud of these. So home, and there dined with my wife and my people: and then she, and W. Hewer, and I out with our coach, but the old horses, not daring yet to use the others too much, but only to enter them.

25th. (Christmas-day.) I to church, where Alderman Backewell, coming in late, I beckoned to his lady to come up to us, who did, with another lady; and after sermon, I led her down through the church to her husband and coach, a noble, fine woman, and a good one, and one my wife shall be acquainted with. So home, and to dinner alone with my wife, who, poor wretch! sat undressed all day, till ten at night, altering and lacing of a noble petticoat: while I by her, making the boy read to me the *Life of Julius Cæsar*, and Des Cartes' book of Musick—the latter of which I understand not, nor think he did well that writ it, though a most learned man. Then, after supper, I made the boy play upon his lute, which I have not done before since he come to me; and so, my mind in mighty content, we to bed.

30th. Up, and vexed a little to be forced to pay 40s. for a glass of my coach, which was broke the other day, nobody knows how, within the door, while it was down; but I do doubt that I did break it myself with my knees. After dinner, my wife and I to the Duke's playhouse, and there did see *King Harry the Eighth*; and was mightily pleased, better than I ever expected, with the history and shows of it. We happened to sit by Mr Andrews, our neighbour, and his wife, who talked so fondly to his little boy. Thence my wife and I to the 'Change; but, in going, our neere horse did fling himself, kicking of the coachbox over the pole; and a great deal of trouble it was to get him right again, and we forced to 'light, and in great fear of spoiling the horse, but there was no hurt.

1668-69

January 1st. Presented from Captain Beckford, with a noble silver warming-pan, which I am doubtful whether to take or no. To the cabinet-shops, to look out, and did agree, for a cabinet to give my wife for a New-year's gift; and I did buy one cost me

£11, which is very pretty, of walnutt-tree. To the Old Exchange, and met my uncle Wight; and there walked, and met with the Houblons, and talked with them—gentlemen whom I honour mightily: and so to my uncle's, and met my wife; and there, with W. Hewer, we dined with our family, and had a very good dinner, and pretty merry: and after dinner, my wife and I with our coach to the King's playhouse, and there in a box saw *The Mayden Queene*. Knipp looked upon us, but I durst not show her any countenance; and, as well as I could carry myself, I found my wife uneasy there, poor wretch! therefore, I shall avoid that house as soon as I can. So back to my aunt's, and there supped and talked, and staid pretty late, it being dry and moonshine, and so walked home.

2d. Home to dinner, where I find my cabinet, and paid for it, and it pleases me and my wife well.

3d. (Lord's day.) Busy all the morning, getting rooms and dinner ready for my guests, which were my uncle and aunt Wight, and two of their cousins, and an old woman, and Mr Mills and his wife; and a good dinner, and all our plate out, and mighty fine and merry, only I a little vexed at burning a new table-cloth myself, with one of my trencher-salts. Dinner done, I out with W. Hewer and Mr Spong, who by accident come to dine with me, and good talk with him: to White Hall by coach, and there left him. Up and down the House till the evening, hearing how the King do intend this frosty weather, it being this day the first, and very hard frost, that hath come this year, and very cold it is. So home; and to supper and read; and there my wife and I treating about coming to an allowance to her for clothes; and there I, out of my natural backwardness, did hang off, which vexed her, and did occasion some discontented talk in bed, when we went to bed; and also in the morning, but I did recover all.

4th. Talking with my wife, and did of my own accord come to an allowance of her of £30 a-year for all expences, clothes and everything, which she was mightily pleased with, it being more than ever she asked or expected, and so rose, with much content. W. Hewer and I went and saw the great tall woman that is to be seen, who is but twenty-one years old, and I do easily stand under her arms. To supper, and put into writing, in merry terms, an agreement between my wife and me about the £30 a-year, and so to bed. This was done under both our hands merrily, and put into W. Hewer's to keep.

6th. At noon comes Mrs Turner and Dyke, and Mrs Dickenson, and then comes The. and Betty Turner, the latter of which is a very pretty girl; and then Creed and his wife, whom I sent for, by my coach. These were my guests, and Mrs Turner's friend, whom I saw the other day, Mr Wicken, and very merry we were at dinner, and so all the afternoon, talking, and looking up and down my house; and in the evening I did bring out my cake—a noble cake, and there cut it into pieces, with wine and good drink: and after a new fashion, to prevent spoiling the cake, did put so many titles into a hat, and so drew cuts; and I was the Queen; and The. Turner, King—Creed, Sir Martin Marr-all; and Betty, Mrs Millicent: and so we were mighty merry till it was midnight; and, being moonshine and fine frost, they went home, I lending some of them my coach to help to carry them.

10th. (Lord's day.) Accidentally talking of our maids before we rose, I said a little word that did give occasion to my wife to fall out; and she did most excessively, almost all the morning, but ended most perfect good friends; but the thoughts of the inquiet which her ripping up of old faults will give me, did make me melancholy all day long.

11th. Abroad with my wife to the King's playhouse, and there saw *The Joviall Crew*; but ill acted to what it was heretofore, in Clun's time, and when Lacy could dance. Thence to the New Exchange, to buy some things; and, among others, my wife did give me my pair of gloves, which, by contract, she is to give me in her £30 a-year. So home; and there all the evening; and made Tom to prick down some little conceits and notions of mine, in musick, which do mightily encourage me to spend some more thoughts about it; for I fancy, upon good reason, that I am in the right way of unfolding the mystery of this matter, better than ever yet.

12th. This evening I observed my wife mighty dull, and I myself was not mighty fond, because of some hard words she did give me at noon, out of a jealousy at my being abroad this morning, which, God knows, it was upon the business of the Office unexpectedly: but I to bed, not thinking but she would come after me. But waking by and by, out of a slumber, which I usually fall into presently after my coming into the bed, I found she did not prepare to come to bed, but got fresh candles, and more wood for her fire, it being mighty cold, too. At this being troubled, I

after a while prayed her to come to bed ; so, after an hour or two, she silent, and I now and then praying her to come to bed, she fell out into a fury, that I was a rogue, and false to her. I did, as I might truly, deny it, and was mightily troubled, but all would not serve. At last, about one o'clock, she come to my side of the bed, and drew my curtaine open, and with the tongs red hot at the ends, made as if she did design to pinch me with them, at which, in dismay, I rose up, and with a few words she laid them down ; and did by little and little, very sillily, let all the discourse fall ; and about two, but with much seeming difficulty, come to bed, and there lay well all night, and long in bed talking together, with much pleasure, it being, I know, nothing but her doubt of my going out yesterday, without telling her of my going, which did vex her, poor wretch ! last night, and I cannot blame her jealousy, though it do vex me to the heart.

20th. I met with the pretty daughter of the coal-seller's, that lived in Cheapside, and now in Covent Garden, who hath her picture drawn here, but very poorly ; but she is a pretty woman, and now, I perceive, married, a very pretty black woman. Home, my wife letting fall some words of her observing my eyes to be mightily employed in the play-house, meaning upon women, which did vex me ; but, however, when we come home, we were good friends ; and so to read, and to supper, and so to bed.

21st. I to the 'Change, and so home, where my wife mighty dogged, and I vexed to see it, being mightily troubled of late, at her being out of humour, for fear of her discovering any new matter of offence against me, though I am conscious of none ; but do hate to be unquiet at home. So, late up, silent, and not supping, but hearing her utter some words of discontent to me with silence, and so to bed, weeping to myself for grief.

22d. To the Exchange, calling at several places on occasions relating to my feast to-morrow, on which my mind is now set ; as how to get a new looking-glass for my dining-room, and some pewter, and good wine, against to-morrow ; and so home, where I had the looking-glass set up, cost me £6. 7s. 6d. At the 'Change I met with Mr Dancre, with whom I was, on Wednesday ; and he took measure of my panels in my dining-room, where, in the four, I intend to have the four houses of the King, White Hall, Hampton Court, Greenwich, and Windsor. Mightily pleased with the fellow that came to lay the cloth, and fold the nap-

kins, which I like so well, as that I am resolved to give him 40s. to teach my wife to do it. So to supper, with much kindness between me and my wife, which, now-a-days, is all my care, and so to bed.

23d. To the Office till noon, when word brought me that my Lord Sandwich was come; so I presently rose, and there I found my Lords Sandwich, Peterborough, and Sir Charles Harbord; and presently after them comes my Lord Hinchingbroke, Mr Sidney, and Sir William Godolphin. And after greeting them, and some time spent in talk, dinner was brought up, one dish after another, but a dish at a time, but all so good; but, above all things, the variety of wines, and excellent of their kind, I had for them, and all in so good order, that they were mightily pleased, and myself full of content at it: and indeed it was, of a dinner of about six or eight dishes, as noble as any man need to have, I think; at least, all was done in the noblest manner that ever I had any, and I have rarely seen in my life better any where else, even at the Court. After dinner, my Lords to cards, and the rest of us sitting about them and talking, and looking on my books and pictures, and my wife's drawings, which they commended mightily; and mighty merry all day long, with exceeding great content, and so till seven at night; and so took their leaves, it being dark and foul weather. Thus was this entertainment over, the best of its kind, and the fullest of honour and content to me, that ever I had in my life: and I shall not easily have so good again. The truth is, I have some fear that I am more behind-hand in the world for these last two years, since I have not, or for some time could not, look after my accounts, which do a little allay my pleasure. But I do trust in God that I am pretty well yet, and resolve, in a very little time, to look into my accounts, and see how they stand.

25th. My wife showed me many excellent prints of Nantueill's and others, which W. Batelier hath, at my desire, brought me out of France, of the King, and Colbert, and others, most excellent, to my great content. But he hath also brought a great many gloves perfumed, of several sorts; but all too big by half for her, and yet she will have two or three dozen of them, which vexed me, and made me angry. So she, at last, to please me, did come to take what alone I thought fit, which pleased me.

31st. (Lord's day.) Thus endeth this month, with many different days of sadness and mirth, from differences between me

and my wife ; but this night we are at present very kind. And so ends this month.

[February] 3d. Up, and to the Office till noon, and then home to a little dinner, and thither again till night, mighty busy, to my great content, doing a great deal of business, and so home to supper, and to bed ; I finding this day that I may be able to do a great deal of business by dictating, if I do not read myself, or write, without spoiling my eyes, I being very well in my eyes, after a great day's work.

7th. (Lord's day.) I up, and to church, and so home to dinner, where my wife in a jealous fit, which lasted all the afternoon, and shut herself up in her closet, and I mightily grieved and vexed, and could not get her to tell me what ailed her, or to let me into her closet, but at last she did, where I found her crying on the ground, and could not please her ; but at last find that she did plainly expound it to me. It was, that she did believe me false to her with Jane, and did rip up three or four silly circumstances of her not rising till I come out of my chamber, and her letting me thereby see her dressing herself ; and that I must needs go into her chamber ; which was so silly, and so far from truth, that I could not be troubled at it, though I could not wonder at her being troubled, if she had these thoughts. At last, I did give her such satisfaction, that we were mighty good friends.

8th. Up, and dressed myself ; and by coach, with W. Hewer and my wife, to White Hall, where she set us down ; and in the way, our little boy, at Martin, my bookseller's shop, going to 'light, did fall down ; and, had he not been a most nimble boy, (I saw how he did it, and was mightily pleased with him for it) he had been run over by the coach. To visit my Lord Sandwich ; and there, while my Lord was dressing himself, did see a young Spaniard, that he hath brought over with him, dance, which he is admired for, as the best dancer in Spain, and indeed he do with mighty mastery ; but I do not like his dancing as well as the English, though my Lord commends it mightily : but I will have him to my house, and show it my wife. Here I met with Mr Moore, who tells me the state of my Lord's accounts of his embassy, which I find not so good as I thought : for, though it be passed the King and his Cabal, the Committee for Foreign Affairs, as they are called, yet they have cut off from £19,000 full £8000, and have now sent it to the Lords of the Treasury, who, though

the Committee have allowed the rest, yet they are not obliged to abide by it. So that I do fear this account may yet be long ere it be passed—much more, ere that sum be paid : I am sorry for the family, and not a little for what it owes me. To my wife, and in our way home did show her the tall woman, in Holborne, which I have seen before ; and I measured her, and she is, without shoes, just six feet five inches high, and they say not above twenty-one years old. Thence home, and there to dinner, and my wife in a wonderfull ill humour ; and, after dinner, I staid with her alone, being not able to endure this life, and we fell to some angry words together ; but by and by were mighty good friends, she telling me plain it was about Jane, which I made a matter of mirth at ; but at last did call up Jane, and confirm her mistress's directions, for her being gone at Easter, which I find the wench willing to be, but directly prays that Tom might go with her, which I promised, and was but what I designed ; and she being thus spoke with, and gone, my wife and I good friends.

9th. To the King's playhouse, and there saw *The Island Princess*, which I like mighty well, as an excellent play : and here we find Kinaston to be well enough to act again, which he do very well, after his beating, by Sir Charles Sedley's appointment.

10th. To White Hall, where the Duke of York was gone a-hunting ; and so to the plaisterer's at Charing Cross, that casts heads and bodies in plaister : and there I had my whole face done ; but I was vexed first to be forced to daub all my face over with pomatum : but it was pretty to feel how soft and easily it is done on the face, and by and by, by degrees, how hard it becomes, that you cannot break it, and sits so close, that you cannot pull it off, and yet so easy, that it is as soft as a pillow, so safe is everything where many parts of the body do bear alike. Thus was the mould made ; but when it came off there was little pleasure in it, as it looks in the mould, nor any resemblance whatever there will be in the figure, when I come to see it cast off. To White Hall, where I staid till the Duke of York came from hunting, which he did by and by, and, when dressed, did come out to dinner ; and there I waited : and he did mightily magnify his sauce, which he did then eat with every thing, and said it was the best universal sauce in the world, it being taught him by the Spanish Ambassador ; made of some parsley and a dry toast, beat in a mortar, together with vinegar, salt, and a little pepper : he eats it with flesh, or fowl, or fish : and

then he did now mightily commend some new sort of wine lately found out, called Navarre wine, which I tasted, and is, I think, good wine : but I did like better the notion of the sauce, and by and by did taste it, and liked it mightily.

23d. Up ; and to the Office, where all the morning, and then home, and put a mouthfull of victuals in my mouth ; and by a hackney-coach followed my wife and the girls, who are gone by eleven o'clock, thinking to have seen a new play at the Duke of York's house. But I do find them staying at my tailor's, the play not being to-day, and therefore to Westminster Abbey, and there did see all the tombs very finely, having one with us alone, there being other company this day to see the tombs, it being Shrove Tuesday ; and here we did see, by particular favour, the body of Queen Katherine of Valois ; and I had the upper part of her body in my hands, and I did kiss her mouth, reflecting upon it that I did kiss a Queen, and that this was my birth-day, thirty-six years old, that I did kiss a Queen.

24th. I to the Office, and at night my wife sends for me to W. Hewer's lodging, where I find two best chambers of his so finely furnished, and all so rich and neat, that I was mightily pleased with him and them : and here only my wife, and I, and the two girls, and had a mighty neat dish of custards and tarts, and good drink and talk. And so away home to bed, with infinite content at this his treat ; for it was mighty pretty, and everything mighty rich.

[March] 5th. Walked forward towards White Chapel, till my wife overtook me with the coach, it being a mighty fine afternoon ; and there we went the first time out of town with our coach and horses, and went as far as Bow, the spring beginning a little now to appear, though the way be dirty ; and so, with great pleasure, with the fore part of our coach up, we spent the afternoon. And so in the evening home, and there busy at the Office a while, and so to bed, mightily pleased with being at peace with my poor wife, and with the pleasure we may hope to have with our coach this summer, when the weather comes to be good.

6th. This day my wife made it appear to me that my late entertainment this week cost me above £12, an expence which I am almost ashamed of, though it is but once in a great while, and is the end for which, in the most part, we live, to have such a merry day once or twice in a man's life.

9th. Up, and to the Tower; and there find Sir W. Coventry alone, writing down his Journal, which, he tells me, he now keeps of the material things; upon which I told him, and he is the only man I ever told it to, I think, that I kept it most strictly these eight or ten years; and I am sorry almost that I told it him, it not being necessary, nor may be convenient, to have it known.

11th. Away to the Office, where busy all the morning, and so to dinner, and so very busy all the afternoon, at my Office, late; and then home tired, to supper, with content with my wife, and so to bed, she pleasing me, though I dare not own it, that she hath hired a chambermaid; but she, after many commendations, told me that she had one great fault, and that was, that she was very handsome, at which I made nothing, but let her go on; but many times to-night she took occasion to discourse of her handsomeness, and the danger she was in, by taking her, and that she did doubt yet whether it would be fit for her, to take her. But I did assure her of my resolution to have nothing to do with her maids, though in myself I was glad to have the content to have a handsome one to look on.

13th. Up; and to the Tower, to see Sir W. Coventry, and with him talking of business of the Navy, all alone, an hour. That which put me in good humour, both at noon and night, is the fancy that I am this day made a Captain of one of the King's ships, Mr Wren having this day sent me the Duke of York's commission to be Captain of *The Jerzy*, in order to my being of a Court-martiall for examining the loss of *The Defyance*, and other things; which do give me occasion of much mirth, and may be of some use to me, at least I shall get a little money for the time I have it; it being designed that I must really be a Captain to be able to sit in this Court. They staid till about eight at night, and then away, and my wife to read to me, and then to bed in mighty good humour, but for my eyes.

18th. Up, and to see Sir W. Coventry, and walked with him a good while in the Stone Walk: and brave discourse about my Lord Chancellor, and his ill managements and mistakes, and several things of the Navy. Home to dinner, where my wife mighty finely dressed, by a maid that she hath taken, and is to come to her when Jane goes; and the same she the other day told me of, to be so handsome. I therefore longed to see her, but did not till after dinner, that my wife and I going by coach, she went with us to

Holborne, where we set her down. She is a mighty proper maid, and pretty comely, but so so; but hath a most pleasing tone of voice, and speaks handsomely, but hath most great hands, and I believe ugly; but very well dressed, and good clothes, and that otherwise I believe will please me well enough. Thence to visit Ned Pickering and his lady, and Creed and his wife, but the former abroad, and the latter out of town, gone to my Lady Pickering's, in Northamptonshire, upon occasion of the late death of their brother Oliver Pickering, a youth, that is dead of the small-pox. So my wife and I to Dancre's, to see the pictures; and thence to Hyde Park, the first time we were there this year, or ever, in our own coach, where with mighty pride rode up and down, and many coaches there; and I thought our horses and coach as pretty as any there, and observed so to be by others. Here staid till night, and so home.

22d. Up, and by water, with W. Hewer, to White Hall, there to attend the Lords of the Treasury; but, before they sat, I did make a step to see Sir W. Coventry at his house, where, I bless God! he is come again; but in my way I met him, and so he took me into his coach and carried me to White Hall, and there set me down where he ought not—at least, he hath not yet leave to come, nor hath thought fit yet to ask it, hearing that Harry Saville is not only denied to kiss the King's hand, but the King, being asked it by the Duke of York, did deny it, and directed that the Duke shall not receive him, to wait upon him in his chamber, till further orders. Sir W. Coventry told me that he was going to visit Sir John Trevor, who hath been kind to him: and he showed me a long list of all his friends that he must this week make visits to, that came to visit him in the Tower; and seems mighty well satisfied with his being out of business, but I hope he will not long be so; at least, I do believe that all must go to rack, if the King do not come to see the want of such a servant. Thence to the Treasury-Chamber, and there all the morning, to my great grief, put to do Sir G. Downing's work of dividing the Customes for this year, between the Navy, the Ordnance, and Tangier: but it did so trouble my eyes, that I had rather have given £20 than have had it to do; but I did thereby oblige Sir Thomas Clifford and Sir J. Duncomb, and so am glad of the opportunity to recommend myself to the former, for the latter I need not, he loving me well already. At it till noon, here being several of my brethren with me, but

doing nothing, but I all. But this day I did also represent to our Treasurers, which was read here, a state of the charge of the Navy, and what the expence of it this year would likely be ; which is done so as it will appear well done, and to my honour, for so the Lords did take it : and I oblige the Treasurers by doing it, at their request. With W. Hewer at noon to Unthanke's, where my wife stays for me ; and so to the Cocke, where there was no room, and thence to King's Street, to several cook's shops, where nothing to be had ; and at last to the corner shop, going down Ivy Lane, by my Lord of Salisbury's, and there got a good dinner, my wife, and W. Hewer, and I ; and after dinner she, with her coach, home ; and he and I to look over my papers for the East India Company, against the afternoon : which done, I with them to White Hall, and there to the Treasury-Chamber, where the East India Company and three Councillors pleaded against me alone, for three or four hours, till seven at night, before the Lords ; and the Lords did give me the conquest on behalf of the King, but could not come to any conclusion, the Company being stiff : and so I think we shall go to law with them. This done, and my eyes mighty bad with this day's work, I to Mr Wren's, and then up to the Duke of York, and there with Mr Wren did propound to him my going to Chatham to-morrow with Commissioner Middleton, and so this week to make the pay there, and examine the business of *The Defyance* being lost, and other businesses, which I did the rather, that I might be out of the way, at the wedding, and be at a little liberty myself for a day or two, to find a little pleasure, and give my eyes a little ease. The Duke of York mightily satisfied with it ; and so away home, where my wife troubled at my being so late abroad, poor woman ! though never more busy, but I satisfied her ; and so begun to put things in order for my journey to-morrow, and so, after supper, to bed.

24th. To the Hill-House, and there did give order for a coach to be made ready ; and got Mr Gibson, whom I carried with me, to go with me and Mr Coney, the surgeon, towards Maydstone, which I had a mighty mind to see, and took occasion, in my way, at St Margett's, to pretend to call to see Captain Allen, to see whether Mrs Jewkes, his daughter, was there ; and there his wife come to the door, he being at London, and, through a window, I spied Jewkes, but took no notice of her, but made excuse till night, and then promised to come and see Mrs Allen again. A mighty

cold and windy, but clear day ; and had the pleasure of seeing the Medway running, winding up and down mightily, and a very fine country ; and I went a little out of the way to have visited Sir John Bankes, but he at London ; but here I had a sight of his seat and house, the outside, which is an old abbey just like Hinchinbroke, and as good at least, and mighty finely placed by the river ; and he keeps the grounds about it, and walls and the house, very handsome : I was mightily pleased with the sight of it. Thence to Maydstone, which I had a mighty mind to see, having never been there ; and walked all up and down the town, and up to the top of the steeple, and had a noble view, and then down again : and in the town did see an old man beating of flax, and did step into the barn and give him money, and saw that piece of husbandry which I never saw, and it is very pretty : in the street also I did buy and send to our inne, the Bell, a dish of fresh fish. And so, having walked all round the town, and found it very pretty, as most towns I ever saw, though not very big, and people of good fashion in it, we to our inne, and had a good dinner ; and a barber came to me, and there trimmed me, that I might be clean against night, to go to Mrs Allen. And so, staying till four o'clock, we set out, I alone in the coach going and coming : and in our way back, I 'light out of the way to see a Saxon monument, as they say, of a King, which is of three stones standing upright, and a great round one lying on them, of great bigness, although not so big as those on Salisbury Plain ; but certainly it is a thing of great antiquity, and I am mightily glad to see it ; it is near to Aylesford, where Sir John Bankes lives. So homeward to Chatham, to Captain Allen's, and there 'light, and sent the coach and Gibson home, and I and Coney staid ; and there comes to us Mrs Jewkes, who is a very fine, proper lady, as most I know, and well dressed. Here was also a gentleman, one Major Manly, and his wife, neighbours ; and here we staid, and drank, and talked, and sat. Cony and he to play, while Mrs Jewkes and I to talk, and there had all our old stories up, and there I had the liberty to salute her often ; and she mighty free in kindness to me ; and had there been time, I might have carried her to Cobham, as she, upon my pressing it, was very willing to go. Here was a pretty cozen of her's come into supper also, of a great fortune, daughter-in-law to this Manly, mighty pretty, but had now such a cold, she could not speak. Here staid till almost twelve at night, and then with a lanthorn

from thence walked over the fields, as dark as pitch, and mighty cold, and snow, to Chatham, and Mr Coney with great kindness to me ; and there all in bed before I come home, and so I presently to bed.

26th. Up, and with Middleton all the morning at the Docke, looking over the storehouses and Commissioner Pett's house, in order to Captain Cox's coming to live there in his stead, as Commissioner. But it is a mighty pretty house ; and pretty to see how every thing is said to be out of repair for this new man, though £10 would put it into as good condition in every thing, as it ever was in, so free every body is of the King's money ! And so to dinner at the Hill-House ; and after dinner, till eight at night, close, Middleton and I, examining the business of Mr Pett, about selling a boat, and we find him a very knave ; and some other quarrels of his, wherein, to justify himself, he hath made complaints of others. This being done, we to supper, and so to talk, Commissioner Middleton being mighty good company upon a journey, and so to bed, thinking how merry my people are at this time, Tom and Jane being to have been married this day, it being also my feast for my being cut of the stone, but how many years I do not remember, but I think it to be about ten or eleven.

27th. After drinking 'a little buttered ale, Hutchinson and I took coach, and, exceedingly merry in talk, to Dartford : Middleton finding stories of his own life at Barbadoes, and up and down at Venice, and elsewhere, that are mighty pretty, and worth hearing ; and he is a strange good companion, and droll upon the road, more than ever I could have thought to have been in him. Took coach again, and got home about six at night, it being all the morning as cold, snowy, windy, and rainy day, as any in the whole winter past, but pretty clear in the afternoon. I find all well, but my wife abroad with Jane, who was married yesterday. By and by my wife comes, and there I hear how merry they were yesterday, and I am glad at it, they being married, it seems, very handsomely, at Islington ; and dined at the old house, and lay in our blue chamber, with much company, and wonderful merry : The. Turner and Mary Batelier bride-maids, and Talbot Pepys and W. Hewer brides-men.

28th. (Lord's day.) To the Office with Tom, who looks mighty snug upon his marriage, as Jane also do, both of whom I did give joy, and so Tom and I to work at the Office all the morning, till

dinner, and then dined, W. Batelier with us ; and so after dinner to work again, and sent for Gibson, and kept him also till eight at night, doing much business. And so, that being done, and my Journal writ, my eyes being very bad, and every day worse and worse, I fear : but I find it most certain that stronge drinks do make my eyes sore, as they have done heretofore always ; for, when I was in the country, when my eyes were at the best, their stronge beere would make my eyes sore ; so home to supper, and by and by to bed.

[April] 2d. This night I did bring home from the King's pottcary's, in White Hall, by Mr Cooling's direction, a water that he says is mighty good for his eyes. I pray God it may do me good ; but, by his description, his disease was the same as mine, and this do encourage me to use it.

8th. With my wife by coach to Islington, to pay what we owe there, for the late dinner at Jane's wedding ; and so round by Kingsland and Hogsden home, pleased with my wife's singing with me, by the way. Going through Smithfield, I did see a coach run over a coachman's neck, and stand upon it, and yet the man rose up, and was well after it, which I thought a wonder.

11th. (Easter-day.) To the Park, my wife and I ; and here Sir W. Coventry did first see me and my wife in a coach of our own ; and so did also this night the Duke of York, who did eye my wife mightily. But I begin to doubt that my being so much seen in my own coach at this time may be observed to my prejudice ; but I must venture it now. So home, and so set down my Journal, with the help of my left eye through my tube, for fourteen days past ; which is so much as, I hope, I shall not run in arrear again, but the badness of my eyes do force me to it.

19th. Up, and with Tom, whom, with his wife, I, and my wife, had this morning taken occasion to tell that I did intend to give him £40 for himself, and £20 to his wife, towards their setting out in the world, and that my wife would give her £20 more, that she might have as much to begin with as he, by coach to White Hall. After dinner out again, and, calling about my coach, which was at the coachmaker's, and hath been for these two or three days, to be new painted, and the window-frames gilt against next May-day, went on with my hackney to White Hall.

20th. Up ; and to the Office, and my wife abroad with Mary Batelier, with our own coach, but borrowed Sir J. Minnes's

coachman, that so our own might stay at home, to attend at dinner ; our family being mightily disordered by our little boy's falling sick the last night ; and we fear it will prove the small-pox. At noon comes my guest, Mr Hugh May, and with him Sir Henry Capell, my old Lord Capell's son, and Mr Parker ; and I had a pretty dinner for them ; and both before and after dinner had excellent discourse ; and showed them my closet and my Office, and the method of it, to their great content ; and more extraordinary, manly discourse and opportunity of showing myself, and learning from others, I have not, in ordinary discourse, had in my life, they being all persons of worth, but especially Sir H. Capell, whose being a Parliament-man, and hearing my discourse in the Parliament-house, hath, as May tells me, given him a long desire to know and discourse with me. In the afternoon we walked to the Old Artillery-Ground near the Spitalfields, where I never was before, but now, by Captain Deane's invitation, did go to see his new gun tryed, this being the place where the Officers of the Ordnance do try all their great guns ; and when we came, did find that the trial had been made ; and they going away with extraordinary report of the proof of his gun, which, from the shortness and bigness, they do call Punchinello. But I desired Colonel Legg to stay and give us a sight of her performance, which he did, and there, in short, against a gun more than as long and as heavy again, and charged with as much powder again, she carried the same bullet as strong to the mark, and nearer and above the mark at a point blank than their's, and is more easily managed, and recoiles no more than that, which is a thing so extraordinary as to be admired for the happiness of his invention, and to the great regret of the old Gunners and Officers of the Ordnance that were there, only Colonel Legg did do her much right in his report of her. And so, having seen this great and first experiment, we all parted, I seeing my guests into a hackney-coach, and myself, with Captain Deane, taking a hackney-coach, did go out towards Bow, and went as far as Stratford, and all the way talking of this invention, and he offering me a third of the profit of it ; which, for aught I know, or do at present think, may prove matter considerable to us : for either the King will give him a reward for it, if he keeps it to himself, or he will give us a patent to make our profit of it ; and no doubt but it will be of profit to merchantmen and others, to have guns of the same force at half the charge. This was our talk : and

then to talk of other things, of the Navy in general : and, among other things, he did tell me that he do hear how the Duke of Buckingham hath a spite at me, which I knew before, but value it not : and he tells me that Sir T. Allen is not my friend ; but for all this I am not much troubled, for I know myself so usefull that, as I believe, they will not part with me ; so I thank God my condition is such that I can retire, and be able to live with comfort, though not with abundance.

22d. Up, and to the Office, where all the morning. At noon home to dinner, and Captain Deane with us ; and very good discourse, and particularly about my getting a book for him to draw up his whole theory of shipping, which, at my desire, he hath gone far in, and hath shown me what he hath done therein, to admiration. I did give him a Parallelogram, which he is mightily taken with ; and so after dinner to the Office, where all the afternoon till night late, and then home. Vexed at my wife's not being come home, she being gone again abroad with M. Batelier, and come not home till ten at night, which vexed me, so that I to bed, and lay in pain awake till past one, and then to sleep.

23d. Going to rise, without saying anything, my wife stopped me ; and, after a little angry talk, did tell me how she spent all yesterday with M. Batelier and her sweetheart, and seeing a play at the New Nursery, which is set up at the house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which was formerly the King's house. To the Council-Chamber, and heard two or three causes ; among others, that of the complaint of Sir Philip Howard and Watson, the inventors, as they pretend, of the business of varnishing and lacker-worke, against the Company of Painters, who take upon them to do the same thing ; where I saw a great instance of the weakness of a young Counsel not used to such an audience, against the Solicitor-General, and two more able Counsel used to it. Though he had the right of his side, and did prevail for what he pretended to against the rest, yet it was with much disadvantage and hazard. Here I also heard Mr Papillion make his defence to the King, against some complaints of the Farmers of Excise ; but it was so weak, and done only by his own seeking, that it was to his injury more than profit, and made his case the worse, being ill managed, and in a cause against the King. By agreement met my wife, and with her to the Cocke, and did give her a dinner. Thence to the King's playhouse, and saw *The Generous Portugalls*, a play

that pleases me better and better every time we see it ; and, I thank God ! it did not trouble my eyes so much as I was afraid it would. Here, by accident, we met Mr Sheres, and yet I could not but be troubled, because my wife do so delight to talk of him, and to see him. Nevertheless, we took him with us to our mercer's, and to the Exchange, and he helped me to choose a summer-suit of coloured camelott, coat and breeches, and a flowered tabby coat very rich ; and so home, where he took his leave, and down to Greenwich, where he hath some friends ; and I to see Colonel Middleton, who hath been ill for a day or two, or three ; and so home to supper, and to bed.

24th. Mr Sheres dining with us ; and my wife, which troubled me, mighty careful to have a handsome dinner for him ; but yet I see no reason to be troubled at it, he being a very civil and worthy man, I think ; but only it do seem to imply some little neglect of me. After dinner to the King's house, and there saw *The General* revived—a good play, that pleases me well, and thence, our coach coming for us, we parted and home. Well pleased to-night to have Lead, the vizard-maker, bring me home my vizard, with a tube fastened in it, which, I think, will do my business, at least in a great measure, for the easing of my eyes.

30th. I to my coachmaker's, and there vexed to see nothing yet done to my coach, at three in the afternoon ; but I set it in doing, and stood by till eight at night, and saw the painter varnish it, which is pretty to see how every doing it over do make it more and more yellow : and it dries as fast in the sun as it can be laid on almost ; and most coaches are, now-a-days, done so, and it is very pretty when laid on well, and not too pale, as some are, even to show the silver. Here I did make the workmen drink, and saw my coach cleaned and oyled ; and, staying among poor people there in the ally, did hear them call their fat child Punch, which pleased me mightily, that word being become a word of common use for all that is thick and short. At night home, and there find my wife hath been making herself clean against to-morrow ; and, late as it was, I did send my coachman and horses to fetch home the coach to-night, and so we to supper, myself most weary with walking and standing so much, to see all things fine against to-morrow, and so to bed.

May 1st. Up betimes. Called by my tailor, and there first put on a summer suit this year ; but it was not my fine one of flowered

tabby vest, and coloured camelott tunique, because it was too fine with the gold lace at the bands, that I was afraid to be seen in it; but put on the stuff suit I made the last year, which is now repaired; and so did go to the Office in it, and sat all the morning, the day looking as if it would be fowle. At noon home to dinner, and there find my wife extraordinary fine, with her flowered tabby gown that she made two years ago, now laced exceeding pretty; and, indeed, was fine all over; and mighty earnest to go, though the day was very lowering; and she would have me put on my fine suit, which I did. And so anon we went alone through the town with our new liveries of serge, and the horses' manes and tails tied with red ribbons, and the standards gilt with varnish, and all clean, and green reines, that people did mightily look upon us; and, the truth is, I did not see any coach more pretty, though more gay, than our's, all the day. But we set out, out of humour—I because Betty, whom I expected, was not come to go with us; and my wife that I would sit on the same seat with her, which she likes not, being so fine: and she then expected to meet Sheres, which we did in the Pell Mell, and, against my will, I was forced to take him into the coach, but was sullen all day almost, and little complaisant: the day being unpleasing, though the Park full of coaches, but dusty, and windy, and cold, and now and then a little dribbling of rain; and, what made it worse, there were so many hackney-coaches as spoiled the sight of the gentlemen's; and so we had little pleasure. But here was W. Batelier and his sister in a borrowed coach by themselves, and I took them and we to the lodge; and at the door did give them a syllabub, and other things, cost me 12s., and pretty merry. And so back to the coaches, and there till the evening, and then home, leaving Mr Sheres at St James's Gate, where he took leave of us for altogether, he being this night to set out for Portsmouth post, in his way to Tangier, which troubled my wife mightily, who is mighty, though not, I think, too fond of him.

5th. To St James's, and thence, with the Duke of York, to White Hall, where the Board waited on him all the morning: and so at noon with Sir Thomas Allen, and Sir Edward Scott, and Lord Carlingford, to the Spanish Ambassador's, where I dined the first time. The Olio not so good as Sheres's. There was at the table himself and a Spanish Countess, a good, comely, and witty lady—three Fathers and us. Discourse good and pleasant. And

here was an Oxford scholar in a Doctor of Law's gowne, sent from the College where the Embassador lay, when the Court was there, to salute him before his return to Spain. This man, though a gentle sort of scholar, yet sat like a fool for want of French or Spanish, but knew only Latin, which he spoke like an Englishman, to one of the Fathers. And by and by he and I to talk, and the company very merry at my defending Cambridge against Oxford : and I made much use of my French and Spanish here, to my great content. But the dinner not extraordinary at all, either for quantity or quality. Thence home to my wife. So to supper, and to bed.

9th. (Lord's day.) Up; and, after dressing in my best suit with gold trimming, to the Office; and, when church-time, to church with my wife. Dr Mills preached a dull sermon, and so we home to dinner; and thence by coach to St Andrew's, Holborne, thinking to have heard Dr Stillingfleete preach, but we could not get a place, and so to St Margaret's, Westminster, and there heard a sermon, and did get a place, the first we have heard there these many years. Thence towards the Park, but too soon to go in, so went on to Knightsbridge, and there eat and drank at "The World's End," where we had good things, and then back to the Park, and there till night, being fine weather, and much company, and so home. This day I first left off both my waistcoats by day, and my waistcoat by night, it being very hot weather, so hot as to make me break out, here and there, in my hands, which vexes me to see, but is good for me.

10th. Troubled, about three in the morning, with my wife's calling her maid up, and rising herself, to go with her coach abroad, to gather May-dew, which she did, and I troubled for it, for fear of any hurt, going abroad so betimes, happening to her; but I to sleep again, and she come home about six. Mr Wren and I took boat, thinking to dine with my Lord of Canterbury; but, when we came to Lambeth, the gate was shut, which is strictly done at twelve o'clock, and nobody comes in afterwards; so we lost our labour, and therefore back to White Hall, and thence walked to my Lord Crewe, whom I have not seen since he was sick, which is eight months ago, I think, and there dined with him: he is mightily broke. A stranger, a country gentleman, was with him: and he pleased with my discourse accidentally about the decay of gentlemen's families in the country, telling us that the old rule was, that

a family might remain fifty miles from London one hundred years, one hundred miles from London two hundred years, and so farther or nearer London more or less years. He also told us that he hath heard his father say, that in his time it was so rare for a country gentleman to come to London, that, when he did come, he used to make his will before he set out. Thence to St James's, and there met the Duke of York, who told me, with great content, that he did now think he should master our adversaries, for that the King did tell him that he was satisfied in the constitution of the Navy, but that it was well to give these people leave to object against it, which they having not done, he did give order to give warrant to the Duke of York, to direct Sir Jeremy Smith to be a Commissioner of the Navy in the room of Pen; which, though he be an impertinent fellow, yet I am glad of it, it showing that the other side is not so strong as it was: and so, in plain terms, the Duke of York did tell me, that they were every day losing ground; and particularly that he would take care to keep out Child: at all which I am glad, though yet I dare not think myself secure, as the King may yet be wrought upon by these people to bring changes in our Office, and remove us, ere it be long. To White Hall, to a Committee of Tangier, where I see all things going to rack in the business of the Corporation, and consequently in the place, by Middleton's going. Thence walked a little with Creed, who tells me he hears how fine my horses and coach are, and advises me to avoid being noted for it, which I was vexed to hear taken notice of, being what I feared: and Povy told me of my gold-laced sleeves in the Park yesterday, which vexed me also, so as to resolve never to appear in Court with them, but presently to have them taken off, as it is fit I should, and so called at my tailor's for that purpose.

11th. My wife again up by four o'clock, to go to gather May-dew; and so back home by seven, to bed. In the evening my wife and I all alone, with but the boy, by water, up as high as Putney almost, with the tide, and back again, neither staying, going nor coming; but talking, and singing, and reading a foolish copy of verses upon my Lord Mayor's entertaining of all the bachelors, designed in praise to my Lord Mayor.

15th. Up, and at the Office all the morning. Dined at home, and Creed with me, and I did discourse about evening some reckonings with him in the afternoon; but I could not, for my eyes, do it, which troubled me, and vexed him that I would not;

but yet we were friends, I advancing him money without it, and so to walk all the afternoon together in the garden ; and I perceive that he do expect a change in our matters, especially as to religion, and fits himself for it by professing himself for it in his discourse. He gone, I to my business at the Office, and so at night home to supper, and to bed.

16th. (Lord's day.) My wife and I at Church, our pew filled with Mrs Backewell and six more that she brought with her, which vexed me at her confidence. I all the afternoon drawing up a foul draught of my petition to the Duke of York, about my eyes, for leave to spend three or four months out of the Office, drawing it so as to give occasion to a voyage abroad, which I did, to my pretty good liking ; and then with my wife to Hyde Park, where a good deal of company, and good weather.

17th. My wife and I and brother John by coach to the King's playhouse, and saw *The Spanish Curate* revived, which is a pretty good play, but my eyes troubled with seeing it, mightily. Great news now of the French taking St Domingo, in Spaniola, from the Spaniards, which troubles us, that they should have got it, and have the honour of taking it, when we could not.

18th. Dined in my wife's chamber, she being much troubled with the tooth-ake, and I staid till a surgeon of hers come, one Leeson, who had formerly drawn her mouth, and he advised her to draw it : so I to the Office, and by and by word is come that she hath drawn it, which pleased me, it being well done. So I home, to comfort her.

19th. By and by to White Hall, and there I waited upon the King and Queen all dinner-time, in the Queen's lodgings, she being in her white pinner ; and she seemed handsomer plain so, than when dressed. And by and by, dinner done, I out, and to walk in the Gallery, for the Duke of York's coming out ; and there, meeting Mr May, he took me down about four o'clock to Mr Cheffinch's lodgings, and all alone did get me a dish of cold chickens, and good wine ; and I dined like a prince, being before very hungry and empty. By and by the Duke of York comes, and readily took me to his closet, and received my petition, and discoursed about my eyes, and pitied me, and with much kindness did give me his consent to be absent, and approved of my proposition to go into Holland to observe things there, of the Navy ; but would first ask the King's leave, which he anon did, and did tell

me that the King would be a good master to me, these were his words, about my eyes, and do like of my going into Holland, but do advise that nobody should know of my going thither, and that I should pretend to go into the country somewhere, which I liked well.

20th. Up and to the Office. At noon, the whole Office—Brouncker, J. Minnes, T. Middleton, Samuel Pepys, and Captain Cox to dine with the Parish, at the Three Tuns, this day being Ascension-day, where exceeding good discourse among the merchants. With my eyes mighty weary, and my head full of care how to get my accounts and business settled against my journey, home to supper, and to bed. Yesterday, at my coming home, I found that my wife had, on a sudden, put away Matt upon some falling out, and I doubt Matt did call her ill names by my wife's own discourse; but I did not meddle to say anything upon it, but let her go, being not sorry, because now we may get one that speaks French, to go abroad with us.

21st. I waited with the Office upon the Duke of York, in the morning. Dined at home, where Lewis Phillips, with a friend of his, dined with me. In the afternoon at the Office. In the evening visited by Roger Pepys and Philip Packer; and so home.

23d. (Lord's day.) Called up by Roger Pepys and his son, who to church with me, and then in the afternoon carried them to Westminster, and myself to St James's, where, not finding the Duke of York, back home, and with my wife spent the evening taking the ayre about Hackney, with great pleasure.

24th. To White Hall, where I attended the Duke of York, and was by him led to the King, who expressed great sense of my misfortune in my eyes, and concernment for their recovery; and accordingly signified, not only his assent to my desire therein, but commanded me to give them rest this summer, according to my late petition to the Duke of York. W. Hewer and I dined alone at the Swan; and thence, having thus waited on the King, spent till four o'clock in St James's Park, when I met my wife at Unthanke's, and so home.

25th. Dined at home; and the rest of the day, morning and afternoon, at the Office.

26th. To White Hall, where all the morning. Dined with Mr Cheffinch, with Alderman Backewell, and Spragg. The Court full of the news from Captain Hubbert, of *The Milford*, touching

his being affronted in the Streights, shot at, and having eight of his men killed by a French man-of-war, calling him "English dog," and commanding him to strike, which he refused, and, as knowing himself much too weak for him, made away from him. One Sir Edmund Bury Godfry, a woodmonger and Justice of Peace in Westminster, having two days since arrested Sir Alexander Frazier for about £30 in firing, the bailiffs were apprehended, committed to the porter's lodge, and there, by the King's command, the last night severely whipped; from which the Justice himself very hardly escaped, to such an unusual degree was the King moved therein. But he lies now in the lodge, justifying his act, as grounded upon the opinion of several of the Judges, and, among others, my Lord Chief-Justice; which makes the King very angry with the Chief-Justice, as they say; and the Justice do lie and justify his act, and says he will suffer in the cause for the people, and do refuse to receive almost any nutriment. The effects of it may be bad to the Court.

27th. Presented this day by Mr Browne with a book of drawing by him, lately printed, which cost me 20s., to him. In the afternoon to the Temple, to meet with Auditor Aldworth, about my interest account, but failed of meeting him. To visit my cozen Creed, and found her ill at home, and looks poorly. Thence to her husband, at Gresham College, upon some occasions of Tangier; and so home, with Sir John Bankes with me, to Mark Lane.

29th. The King's birth-day. To White Hall, where all very gay; and particularly the Prince of Tuscany very fine, and is the first day of his appearing out of mourning, since he came. I heard the Bishop of Peterborough preach but dully; but a good anthem of Pelham's. Home to dinner, and then with my wife to Hyde Park, where all the evening: great store of company, and great preparations by the Prince of Tuscany to celebrate the night with fire-works, for the King's birth-day. And so home.

30th. (Whitsunday.) By water to White Hall, and thence to Sir W. Coventry, where all the morning by his bed-side, he being indisposed. Our discourse was upon the notes I have lately prepared for Commanders' Instructions; but concluded that nothing will render them effectual, without an amendment in the choice of them, that they be seamen, and not gentlemen above the command of the Admiral, by the greatness of their relations at Court. Thence to White Hall, and dined with Mr Cheffinch and his sister:

whither by and by came in Mr Progers and Sir Thomas Allen, and by and by, fine Mrs Wells, who is a great beauty; and there I had my full gaze upon her, to my great content, she being a woman of pretty conversation. Thence to the Duke of York, who, with the officers of the Navy, made a good entrance on my draught of my new Instructions to Commanders, as well expressing his general views of a reformation among them, as liking of my humble offers towards it. Thence being called by my wife, we to the Park, whence the rain sent us suddenly home.

31st. Up very betimes, and continued all the morning with W. Hewer, upon examining and stating my accounts, in order to the fitting myself to go abroad beyond sea, which the ill condition of my eyes, and my neglect for a year or two hath kept me behind-hand in, and so as to render it very difficult now, and troublesome to my mind to do it; but I this day made a satisfactory entrance therein. Had another meeting with the Duke of York, at White Hall, on yesterday's work, and made a good advance: and so, being called by my wife, we to the Park, Mary Batelier, and a Dutch gentleman, a friend of hers, being with us. Thence to "The World's End," a drinking-house by the Park; and there merry, and so home late.

And thus ends all that I doubt I shall ever be able to do with my own eyes in the keeping of my Journal, I being not able to do it any longer, having done now so long as to undo my eyes almost every time that I take a pen in my hand; and, therefore, whatever comes of it, I must forbear: and, therefore, resolve, from this time forward, to have it kept by my people in long-hand, and must be contented to set down no more than is fit for them and all the world to know; or, if there be any thing, I must endeavour to keep a margin in my book open, to add, here and there, a note in short-hand with my own hand.

And so I betake myself to that course, which is almost as much as to see myself go into my grave: for which, and all the discomforts that will accompany my being blind, the good God prepare me!

